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Rules of the Kent Archaeological Society.

1. The Society shall consist of Ordinary Members and Honorary Members.

2. The affairs of the Society shall be conducted by a Council, consisting of the President of the Society, the Vice-Presidents, the Honorary Secretary, and twenty-four Members elected out of the general body of the Subscribers: one fourth of the latter shall go out annually by rotation, but shall nevertheless be re-eligible; and such retiring and the new election shall take place at the Annual General Meeting: but any intermediate vacancy, by death or retirement, among the elected Council shall be filled up either at the General Meeting or at the next Council Meeting, whichever shall first happen. Five Members of the Council to constitute a quorum.

3. The Council shall meet to transact the business of the Society on the second Thursday in the months of March, June, September, and December, and at any other time that the Secretary may deem it expedient to call them together. The June Meeting shall always be held in London: those of March, September, and December, at Canterbury and Maidstone alternately. But the Council shall have power, if it shall seem advisable, at the instance of the President, to hold its meetings at other places within the county; and to alter the days of meeting, or to omit a quarterly meeting if it shall be found convenient.

4. At every Meeting of the Society or Council, the President, or, in his absence, the Chairman, shall have a casting vote, independently of his vote as a member.

5. A General Meeting of the Society shall be held annually, in July, August, or September, at some place rendered interesting by its antiquities or historical associations, in the eastern and western divisions of the county alternately: the day and place thereof to be appointed by the Council. At the said General Meeting, antiquities shall be exhibited, and papers read on subjects of archæological interest. The accounts of the Society, having been previously allowed by the Auditors, shall be presented; the Council, through the Secretary, shall make a Report on the state of the Society; and the Auditors and the six new Members of the Council for the ensuing year shall be elected.

6. The Annual General Meeting shall have power to make such alterations in the Rules as the majority of Members present may approve; provided that notice of any contemplated alterations be given, in writing, to the Secretary, before the 1st June in the then current year, to be laid by him before the Council at their next Meeting; provided, also, that the said contemplated alterations be specifically set out in the notices summoning the Meeting, at least one month before the day appointed for it.

7. A Special General Meeting may be summoned, on the written requisition of seven Members, or of the President, or two Vice-Pres-

sidents, which must specify the subject intended to be brought forward at such Meeting ; and such subject alone can then be considered.

8. Candidates for admission must be proposed by one Member of the Society, and seconded by another, and be balloted for, if required, at any Meeting of the Council, or at a General Meeting, one black ball in five to exclude.

9. Each Ordinary Member shall pay an Annual Subscription of Ten Shillings, due in advance on the 1st of January in each year ; or £5 may at any time be paid in lieu of future subscriptions, as a composition for life. Any Ordinary Member shall pay, on election, an entrance fee of Ten Shillings, in addition to his subscription, whether Annual or Life. Every Member shall be entitled to a copy of the Society's Publications ; but none will be issued to any Member whose Subscription is in arrear. The Council may remove from the List of Subscribers the name of any Member whose Subscription is two years in arrear, if it be certified to them that a written application for payment has been made by one of the Secretaries, and not attended to within a month from the time of application.

10. All Subscriptions and Donations are to be paid to the Bankers of the Society, or to one of the Secretaries.

11. All Life Compositions shall be vested in Government Securities, in the names of four Trustees, to be elected by the Council. The interest only of such funds to be used for the ordinary purposes of the Society.

12. No cheque shall be drawn, except by order of the Council, and every cheque shall be signed by two Members of the Council, and the Secretary.

13. The President and Secretary, on any vacancy, shall be elected by a General Meeting of the Subscribers.

14. Members of either House of Parliament, who are landed proprietors of the county or residents therein, shall, on becoming Members of the Society, be placed on the list of Vice-Presidents, and with them such other persons as the Society may elect to that office.

15. The Council shall have power to elect, without ballot, on the nomination of two Members, any lady who may be desirous of becoming a Member of the Society.

16. The Council shall have power to appoint as Honorary Member any person likely to promote the interests of the Society. Such Honorary Member not to pay any subscription, and not to have the right of voting at any Meetings of the Society ; but to have all the other privileges of Members.

17. The Council shall have power to appoint any Member, Honorary Local Secretary, for the town or district wherein he may reside, in order to facilitate the collection of accurate information as to objects and discoveries of local interest, and for the receipt of subscriptions.

18. Meetings for the purpose of reading papers, the exhibition of antiquities, or the discussion of subjects connected therewith, shall be held at such times and places as the Council may appoint.

19. The Society shall avoid all subjects of religious or political controversy.

20. The Secretary shall keep a record of the proceedings of the Society, to be communicated to the Members at the General Meetings.

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 Wilson, Joshua, Esq., *Tunbridge Wells*.
 Wilson, R. P., Esq., *New Cross Road, S.E.*
 Wilson, J. E., Esq., *Cranbrook*.
 *Wilson, Samuel, Esq., *Beckenham, S.E.*
 *Wilson, Sir Thomas Maryon, Bart., *Charlton House, S.E.*
 Winch, Richard, Esq., *Rochester*.
 Winch, Mrs., *Chatham*.
 Winham, Rev. Daniel, *The Parsonage, Eridge Green, Tunbridge Wells*.
 Wodehouse, Rev. Walker, *Etham Vicarage, Canterbury*.
 Wood, Humphrey, Esq., *Chatham*.
 Wood, John, Esq., *Chatham*.
 Wood, J. Lambert, Esq., *Bury, near Gosport*.
 Woodruff, Rev. John, M.A., *Upchurch Vicarage, Sittingbourne*.
 Woods, Albert, Esq., F.S.A., *Lancaster Herald, College of Arms, Doctors' Commons, E.C.*
 Wray, Leonard, Esq., *Ramsgate*.
 Wrench, Rev. Frederick, M.A., *Stowting Rectory, Hythe*.
 Wykeham-Martin, Charles, Esq., M.P., F.S.A., *Leeds Castle*.
 Yardley, Sir William, *Hadlow Park, Tunbridge*.
 Yates, William, Esq., *Nevill Park, Tunbridge Wells*.
 Yelverton, Hon. William, *Whitlande Abbey, Carmarthenshire*.
 Young, Thomas, Esq., *Crescent Grove, Camberwell, S.E.*
 *Young, John, Esq., F.S.A., *Vanbrugh Fields, Blackheath*.
 Young, John, Esq., 38, *Lincoln's Inn Fields, W.C.*

* * * Should any errors, omissions of honorary distinctions, etc., be found in his List, it is requested that notice thereof may be given to the Assistant Secretary.

CONTRIBUTIONS

To the Fund for supplying Illustrations to the Society's Volumes, etc.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.		
Angell, C. F., Esq.	. . . A	0	10	0	Hawkins, Rev. Dr.	. . . A	0	10	0
Beattie, A., Esq.	. . . . A	0	5	0	Heyman, Rev. S.*	. . . .	5	0	0
Bland, Rev. Miles	. . . . .	0	5	0	Hussey, H. L., Esq.	. . . A	0	11	0
Blencowe, R. W., Esq.	. . . A	0	3	0	Hussey, R. C., Esq.	. . . A	0	6	6
Blore, Edward, Esq.	. . . A	0	10	0	James, Sir Walter, Bart.	. . . A	0	10	0
Brent, J., Esq.	. . . . . A	0	10	0	Jay, J. L., Esq.	. . . . . A	0	10	0
Byng, Hon. J.	. . . . .	1	0	0	Kadwell, Mr. C.	. . . . . A	0	3	0
Cobbett, J. M., Esq.	. . . . . A	0	10	0	Larking, J. W., Esq.	. . . . . A	0	10	0
Cook, W., Esq.	. . . . .	0	10	0	Lightfoot, W. J., Esq.	. . . A	0	10	0
Cotterell, Mr. H.	. . . . . A	0	5	0	London, The Library of the				
Dashwood, Rev. G. H.	. . . A	0	10	0	Corporation of	. . . . .	1	0	0
Ditto*	. . . . .	10	0	0	Luard-Selby, Major	. . . A	0	10	0
De Wilde, E. J., Esq.	. . . A	0	10	0	M'Queen, Major-General	. . . . .	0	5	0
Drake, Rev. R.	. . . . . A	1	0	0	Onslow, Rev. M.	. . . . . A	0	10	0
Farnall, Lieut.-Colonel	. . . A	0	10	0	Rugg, R., Esq.	. . . . . A	0	5	0
Faussett, T. G., Esq.	. . . A	1	0	0	Rye, W. B., Esq.	. . . . . A	0	10	0
Ffinch, M. S., Esq.*	. . . . .	0	10	0	Scott, J. R., Esq.*	. . . . .	2	10	0
Godefroy, S. D., Esq.	. . . A	0	5	0	Smallfield, Mr.	. . . . . A	0	10	0
Golding, Mr. C.	. . . . . A	0	10	0	Smith, George, Esq.	. . . . . A	0	11	0
Gore, Frederick, Esq.	. . . A	0	5	0	Streatfeild, H. D., Esq.	. . . . .	0	10	0
Harding, The Viscount	. . . A	0	10	0	Twopeny, E., Esq.	. . . . . A	0	5	0
Hardy, Rt. Honble G.	. . . A	0	10	0	Wykeham-Martin, C., Esq.	. . . A	1	0	0

* Donations for particular objects.

Members willing to contribute to this Fund are requested to signify their intention to the Honorary Secretary, or to the London Local Secretary.

KENT ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

Balance-Sheet of Accounts from January 1st to December 31st, 1865.

<i>Dr.</i>					<i>Cr.</i>	
	<i>£</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>£</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>£</i>	<i>s. d.</i>
1865.			1865.			
Balance in hand, Dec. 31, 1864:—			Assistant Secretary:—			
Messrs. Randall and Co.	77	4 8	Salary to date of death	18	3 8	
Messrs. Hammond and Co.	124	15 4	Disbursements for postage, stationery, small bills, etc.	3	4 10	
			Substitute during illness.	2	0 0	
Dividends on Stock, one year.	202	0 0				23 8 6
Balance from Annual Meeting	10	15 7	Paid Mr. Dowker on account of Richborough Excavations		18	10 3
Subscriptions, Life Compositions, Contributions to Illustration	9	5 0	Paid the London Local Secretary, petty-cash		10	14 6
Fund and other Funds, Payments for Royal 8vo, etc.	343	15 3	Paid the Honorary Secretary, petty-cash		15	5 0
			Paid the Honorary Photographer for Photographs		3	15 0
			Paid the Lithographer for procuring and stamping Postage-envelopes		2	17 0
			Transcripts from Records, mending Relics, etc.		7	17 3
			Cheque-book		0	2 0
			Part Cost of Arch. Cant. Vol. VI.:—			
			Artist	19	10 0	
			Copper Engraver	6	6 0	
						25 16 0
			Balance in hand, Dec. 31, 1865:—			
			Messrs. Randall and Co.	264	5 6	
			Messrs. Hammond and Co.	193	4 10	
						457 10 4
						<u>£565 15 10</u>

Audited and allowed.
JOSEPH JACKSON HOWARD, }
JAMES CROSBY, } *Auditors.*

KENT ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

Balance-Sheet of Accounts from January 1st to December 31st, 1866.

<i>Dr.</i>		<i>Cr.</i>	
1866.		1866.	
Balance in hand, Dec. 31, 1865 :—		Assistant Secretary :—	
Messrs. Randall and Co.	£ s. d. 264 5 6	Salary, three quarters	£ s. d. 18 15 0
Messrs. Hammond and Co.	193 4 10	Disbursements for postage, stationery, small bills, etc.	8 18 10
Dividends on Stock, one year	457 10 4		
Subscriptions, Life Compositions, Contributions to Illustration	11 12 2		
Fund and other Funds, Payments for Royal Soc, etc.	517 4 6		
		Paid Mr. Forster as late Acting Assistant Secretary	27 13 10
		Invested in £52. 18s. Consols, being nine Life Compositions	10 0 0
		Paid Ashford Local Secretary, expenses of Annual Meeting	45 0 0
		Paid Mr. Solly, of Richborough, for rent of land for excavations	9 19 0
		Paid the Printer for Tickets, Programmes, etc., two years	15 0 0
		Do. for four 4to Volumes sold	35 11 3
		Paid the Lithographer for Circulars	8 8 0
		Paid the Honorary Secretary, petty cash	2 6 6
		Remaining Cost of Arch. Cant. Vol. VI. :—	41 15 0
		Wood-Engraver	59 6 0
		Lithographer	54 2 0
		Printer	312 14 0
		Index	5 5 0
			431 7 0
		Balance in hand, Dec. 31, 1866 :—	
		Messrs. Randall and Co.	203 9 7
		Messrs. Hammond and Co.	155 16 10
			359 6 5
			£986 7 0

Audited and allowed.

JOSEPH JACKSON HOWARD, }
GEO. T. TOMLIN, } *Auditors.*

Balance-Sheet of Accounts from January 1st to December 31st, 1867.

1867.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Balance in hand, Dec. 31, 1866 :—		
Messrs. Randall and Co.	203 9 7	
Messrs. Hammond and Co.	155 16 10	
	<hr/>	
Dividends on Stock, one year	359 6 5	
Subscriptions, Life Compositions, Contributions to Illustration	12 7 10	
Fund and other Funds, Payments for Royal 8vo, etc.	291 5 0	
<hr/>		
1867.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Assistant Secretary :—		
Salary, one year	25 0 0	
Disbursements for postage, stationery, small bills, etc.	5 9 10	
	<hr/>	
Paid Mr. Ready for his Collection of Sulphur Casts of Kent		30 9 10
Seals		8 0 0
Transcripts from Records		2 18 9
Paid the London Local Secretary for hire of rooms for General Meeting for electing a President, Nov. 20, 1866		8 8 0
Expenses of Annual Meeting at Dartford		65 15 4
Expenses of Excavations in Saxon Cemetery at Horton Kirby		4 6 0
Paid the Honorary Secretary for expenses at the Saxon Cemetery at Bifrons, and for petty cash		41 0 0
Part Cost of Arch. Cant. Vol. VII. :—		
Artist	29 0 6	
Lithographer	57 1 6	
	<hr/>	
Balance in hand, Dec. 31, 1867 :—		86 2 0
Messrs. Randall and Co.	242 11 1	
Messrs. Hammond and Co.	173 8 3	
	<hr/>	
		415 19 4
		<hr/>
		£662 19 3

Audited and allowed.

JOSEPH JACKSON HOWARD, } *Auditors.*
GEO. T. TOMLIN, }

THE HONORARY SECRETARY feels that some explanation is due to the Society for the lateness of the present Volume, which has been mainly caused by the great value and elaboration of its principal Paper.

A mere glance through most of the pages following, with their recondite subject-matter and unusually copious illustration, will, he believes, show that the delay has been neither unreasonable nor unfruitful; and he feels confident that the value of the Volume, when read, will be admitted to more than compensate for the lateness of its issue.

It is only right, however, to assure the Society that, had the Volume been produced last year,—as would ordinarily have been the case,—the funds at the disposal of the Council would have been insufficient to pay for it, owing to the lamentable arrears of unpaid subscriptions. It is not too much to say that the amount now owing to the Society from its less regular Members would be more than sufficient to produce a new volume next week; while, if no improvement in punctuality takes place, it will barely be possible to do so next year. Members are again implored kindly to rectify this deficiency, which so greatly impedes the regular and useful working of the Society.

The great length of Professor Willis's most valuable contribution having rendered necessary the postponement of other Papers, it has been thought best to omit from this Volume the usual Serials. These will be continued in Vol. VIII.

The

Kent Archæological Society.

ABSTRACT OF PROCEEDINGS, 1865, 1866, AND 1867.

THE FIRST Meeting of the Council for the year 1865 was held at Chillington House on the 23rd of March.

The Honorary Secretary reported an offer from the Rev. E. M. Sladen of £10 to the Library Fund, to be applied to the purchase of 'Papworth's Ordinary of Arms,' which was cordially accepted; and a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Sladen for his kind donation.

It was agreed that Tunbridge should be the place for the Annual General Meeting.

A vase of white Roman ware, discovered at Richborough many years ago, was exhibited, and the Secretary was requested to purchase it for the Society.

Four new members were elected.

THE NEXT Meeting of the Council was held at the noble President's house, in Grosvenor Square, on the 8th of June.

On the motion of the Earl Stanhope, it was agreed that, under the special circumstances of the year (a general election being closely pending), the General Meeting should be limited to one day, and no steps be taken to form a Local Museum.

The Rev. Lambert B. Larking produced a statement of two separate private accounts with the Society's Printer, which he had entered into with great liberality for the benefit of the

Society, and which he was now anxious to transfer to the Society. The accounts stood as follows:—

1.

<i>Dr.</i>	£	s.	d.	<i>Cr.</i>	£	s.	d.
Cost of Printing Royal				Received already from			
Quarto Copies of Five				Subscribers	84	3	8
Volumes of 'Archæo-				Still owing from Sub-			
logia Cantiana' . .	152	7	0	scriptions for Volumes			
Balance obtainable . .	55	16	8	sold	40	0	0
				Eight Complete Sets of			
				Five Volumes of 'Ar-			
				chæologia Cantiana,'			
				in Royal Quarto, re-			
				maining in Stock,			
				value	84	0	0
	£208	3	8		£208	3	8

2.

<i>Dr.</i>	<i>£ s. d.</i>	<i>Cr.</i>
Cost of Printing separate Copies of Sir Roger Twysden's Journal, 'Pedes Finium and Inquisitiones'	£23 17 0	Stock printed, not yet sold, but far exceeding in value the cost price.

It was unanimously resolved to relieve Mr. Larking from these accounts, and to take upon the Society their responsibility, it being understood that the Printer was content to be paid for the printing of the works as they sold; and a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Larking for his liberality and public spirit in having undertaken their responsibility hitherto.

Thanks were also voted to A. Daniel-Tyssen, Esq., for the present of his work on 'The Church-Bells of Sussex,' and to the Earl Stanhope for having presented his copy of volume iii. of 'Archæologia Cantiana' to H. I. M. the Emperor of the French; and it was resolved to present another copy of that volume to Lord Stanhope from the Society.

Six new members were elected.

THE GENERAL Meeting for this year was held at Hever and Tunbridge, on Friday, the 28th of July.

It was attended by,—the Marquess Camden, President, and the Ladies Pratt; the Earl and Countess Stanhope; the Earl Amherst;

the Viscountess Falmouth; Lord de L'Isle and Dudley; Sir Walter James, Bart.; Sir Walter Stirling, Bart., and Mr. Stirling; J. Rogers, Esq., High Sheriff; G. Leveson-Gower, Esq., M.P.; J. G. Talbot, Esq., and the Hon. Mrs. Talbot; E. Hussey, Esq.; Mrs. and Miss Brockman; C. Powell, Esq.; Major Luard; L'Abbé Haignere; H. Unwin, Esq., and Mrs. Unwin; the Rev. J. Saint; the Rev. Dr. Welldon and Mrs. Welldon; J. Lewin, Esq.; the Rev. J. C. B. Riddell; Major and Mrs. Scoones; C. Fisher, Esq.; J. Fremlyn Streatfeild, Esq.; the Rev. W. W. Battye; the Rev. R. P. Coates and Mrs. Coates; T. Godfrey Faussett, Esq., Hon. Sec., and about four hundred others.

The preliminary business meeting was held in the Old Hall at Hever Castle, kindly placed at the disposal of the Society by the tenant, and the President took the chair at the long old oak table at half-past eleven. The Honorary Secretary then produced the Report, which was as follows:—

In presenting to the Society a Report of its proceedings and condition during the eighth year of its existence, the Council has the gratification of feeling sure that it cannot but be regarded as most satisfactory.

Our Society has been increased during the year by sixty-five new members, some of whom are eminent in Archæology, and we now number in all little less than 1000 members.

The balance at our Bankers is £458. 0s. 4*d.*,—a sum quite sufficient for our sixth volume and our other immediate expenses at our present rate of expenditure. But it is grievous to know that, except for unpaid arrears, our funds, and with them our practical usefulness, would be nearly doubled; and we cannot help hoping that something may yet induce many of our members to show a little of that zeal for Archæology which prompted them to join our ranks by the payment of their subscriptions.

We held a most successful meeting last year at Sandwich, where we were, as always, very kindly and hospitably received. We may hope that our meeting there has already been not without advantage to the cause of church restoration, and in other ways, in that very interesting old town itself.

In accordance with the unanimous wish of the members then assembled, the Council soon afterwards made arrangements for a year's use of a sufficient area in the interior of Richborough Castle, to enable us to excavate further where we were then excavating, around the subterranean remains in the centre. The work has been pursued with much energy by a valued member, who kindly undertook to superintend it for us; and we are arriving very near to

demonstration that this mysterious building has in reality *no* entrance, and must be a solid mass throughout. If we gain no other than this negative result, we shall at least have cut away from the subject a vast amount of useless speculation; but the discovery of other remains of buildings on the platform with which the mass of masonry is surmounted, in addition to the well-known cruciform foundation always visible on its centre, promises, we may hope, a stronger clue to the long-disputed mystery of its nature and object.

Our operations in the Saxon cemetery at Sarr were brought to a close by Mr. Brent last October, and the discoveries made up to the close continued to be most interesting and valuable. Their description will be continued in the forthcoming volume.

The subject of permanent and separate rooms for our Museum and Library has also continued to occupy the attention of the Council. A very suitable offer was made to us from Maidstone, but was found not so immediately available as we had hoped; and it is feared that a room kindly placed at our disposal by the authorities of the Canterbury Museum is not of sufficient size for our rapidly-increasing collection. It is to be hoped that we may shortly be able to achieve this most desirable object.

By means of a subscription raised among our London members by the zeal of our District Secretary, the Society was fortunately able to secure some good specimens of Charters and other MSS. from the Surrenden Collection lately dispersed, and among them the original 'Inventory of Juliana de Leybourne,' printed in our first volume. These will form a valuable addition to our collections.

The sixth volume of 'Archæologia Cantiana' is now in the press, and will shortly be in the hands of all members who are not in arrear with their subscriptions.

The late elections, and the uncertainty of their date, made it necessary that this present meeting should consist of one day only. It is hoped, however, that the great interest which attaches to Hever and Tunbridge Castles may render the gathering a very agreeable one, and worthy of its predecessors.

In conclusion, may we not hope that eight years of ever-increasing prosperity and utility form a guarantee for still further increase in the future, and that all good men of Kent will join in promoting the welfare of a Society which may, we believe, claim to be not unworthy of the cause which it embraces, and of the County which fosters it?

The six retiring members of the Council were re-elected, as were also the Auditors; and twenty-three new members of the Society were elected.

A vote of thanks to the noble Chairman was proposed by the Earl Stanhope, and carried by acclamation.

The Society then assembled in the courtyard of the castle, to hear an interesting lecture from the Rev. W. W. Battye, Rector of Hever, on the history of the building,—a perfect and almost unaltered specimen of a country gentleman's house in early Tudor times. Mr. Battye then conducted them through the rooms and galleries, and afterwards to the church, where he briefly described its points of interest.

The members and their friends were then conveyed by carriage (some who had neglected to obtain carriage tickets being unfortunately left behind) to Chiddingstone, where the Chiding stone—a curious natural mass of rock, traditionally put of old to superstitious uses,—the church, and the fine specimens of timber houses in the village, formed attractions. Mr. Streatfeild, of Chiddingstone, though absent from home, had furnished refreshing hospitality to the Society in the park.

At Tunbridge Castle, the next point reached, Mr. Fleming welcomed the Society with a learned lecture on the History and Architecture of the Castle of the Clares, round which he afterwards conducted them. The lecture has since been published for the author.

Dinner was at five o'clock, in the large schoolroom of the Tunbridge Grammar School, kindly lent by the trustees, and the usual toasts succeeded it, necessarily shortened, as most members were compelled to leave at seven o'clock.

THE LAST Council of this year was held at the Guildhall, Canterbury, on the 14th of December.

The President explained to the meeting the omission of the usual Autumn Council, caused by the lamented death of Mr. E. Pretty, the Society's Assistant Secretary, and the delay of the Trustees of the Charles Museum at Maidstone to elect a new Curator in his room.

The choice of the Trustees having now fallen, at the request of members of this Society, on Mr. W. J. Lightfoot, of the British Museum, it was unanimously resolved as follows:—

That Mr. W. J. Lightfoot be elected the Society's Assistant Secretary, at a salary of £25 per annum, subject to the termination of the engagement at six months' notice.

A resolution of the Town Council of Canterbury was submitted to the meeting by Mr. Brent, making for the second

time a liberal offer of a room for the Society's collections in the Canterbury Museum. It was, however, resolved—

That this Council thanks the Museum Committee for their second kind offer, which, pending arrangements for separate rooms at Chillington House, they feel unable to entertain.

It was resolved that Ashford should be the place of General Meeting for the year 1866.

The Rev. Canon Robertson exhibited a mediæval pen of bronze, and other relics, discovered in St. Andrew's Chapel, formerly used as a depository for records, in Canterbury Cathedral; and the Rev. R. Drake some Roman pottery, found at Chislet by the Rev. R. Johnson, and presented by him to the Society.

Thanks were voted to Mr. Johnson accordingly; also to H. D. Streatfeild, Esq., the Master and Corporation of the Skinners' Company, and the Rev. Dr. Welldon, for their hospitality to the Society on the day of the last General Meeting; to J. P. Fleming, Esq., for his reception of the Society at Tunbridge Castle, and his paper thereon; to the Rev. W. W. Battye, for conducting the Society over Hever Castle and Church; to Mr. Hook, for admitting the Society to Hever Castle; to Major Luard, H. Unwin, Esq., and the Local Committee, on the same occasion, for their services; and to G. Dowker, Esq., for his excavations at Richborough on behalf of the Society.

The Honorary Secretary was requested to write to the Mayor and Corporation of Canterbury to appeal against the proposed desecration of the West Gate of that city.

Two new members were elected.

A SPECIAL Council was held on the 22nd of January, 1866, at the chambers of the Honorary Secretary, 49, Pall Mall, convened by him in consequence of a letter which he had received from the Dean of Westminster; at which the following Resolution was passed, to be forwarded to the Dean, at his request, for presentation to the Chancellor of the Exchequer:—

That this Society joins most cordially with the Society of Antiquaries, in their desire to impress upon Her Majesty's Government, and upon both Houses of Parliament, the expediency of restoring the beautiful Chapter House of Westminster, formerly used as the

House of Commons, and so much injured during its later use as the Public Record Office. And this Society awaits with hope the Report of the Deputation, which will shortly wait on the Chancellor of the Exchequer for the purpose of bringing the subject to the notice of Her Majesty's Government.

THE FIRST Ordinary Council for the year 1866 was held on the 27th day of April at the noble President's house in Grosvenor Square, adjourned to this time and place in consequence of insufficient attendance at a meeting summoned at Maidstone on a former day.

The Honorary Secretary reported that his appeal to the Mayor and Corporation of Canterbury against the desecration of the West Gate had failed of effect, and that their intention was being carried out.

The Rev. R. P. Coates was elected Honorary Local Secretary for the Dartford District, *vice* J. Hayward, Esq., resigned; and the Rev. T. A. Carr to the same office for the Cranbrook District, *vice* Sir W. Smith-Marriott and the Rev. J. L. Allan, both deceased.

The Very Rev. the Dean of Chichester was elected an Honorary Member.

Thanks were voted to Mr. Hayward for his services as Local Secretary; to Lieutenant Hogg, R.E., for his present of a Roman earthen vessel found at Gillingham; and to J. R. Daniel-Tyssen, Esq., for his present of some documents from a collection at Canterbury lately dispersed.

Four new members were elected.

THE NEXT Council was held at the same place on the 7th of June.

It was resolved that the General Meeting at Ashford should be held on Thursday and Friday, the 2nd and 3rd of August.

That the Honorary Secretary should be empowered to purchase from Mr. Ready, at a price not exceeding £8, his collection of sulphur impressions of Kentish seals.

The Honorary Secretary reported particulars of Saxon graves discovered in Bifrons Park, and that the Marquess Conyngham had kindly given him leave to make further search on the same spot.

Thanks were voted to his Lordship accordingly.

Notice of an addition to the Society's Rule 3, to be proposed at the General Meeting, was given in accordance with Rule 6.

Six new members were elected.

THE GENERAL Meeting for the year 1866 was held at Ashford on Thursday and Friday, the 2nd and 3rd of August.

It was attended by,—The Marquess Camden, K.G., President, and the Ladies Pratt; Sir Norton Knatchbull, Bart., Lady and Miss Knatchbull; Sir Walter Stirling, Bart.; G. W. Norman, Esq., Mrs. and Miss Norman; the Rev. J. Hughes-Hallett, Mrs. and Miss Hughes-Hallett; Major Luard; R. E. Thomson, Esq.; W. Tyssen-Amhurst, Esq.; J. R. Daniel-Tyssen, Esq.; J. Fremlyn Streatfeild, Esq.; the Rev. J. B. Riddell; the Rev. the Vicar of Ashford; the Rev. Canon Stone; James Crosby, Esq.; the Rev. R. C. Jenkins and Mrs. Jenkins; the Rev. A. J. Pearman and Mrs. Pearman; James Burra, Esq., and the Misses Burra; the Rev. F. Tuke; the Rev. W. Field; the Rev. R. P. Coates; the Rev. E. H. Lee; Dr. Beke; R. Furley, Esq., and Mrs. Furley; the Rev. W. W. Battye; T. Godfrey Faussett, Esq., Honorary Secretary, and upwards of three hundred others.

The Preliminary Meeting for dispatch of business was held at twelve o'clock in the new Corn Exchange, at which the following Report was read :—

The Council of this Society is glad to be able to congratulate its members upon another year of usefulness and of prosperity.

Our numbers steadily increase. We have elected 35 new members in the past year, some of whom are not unknown to the Antiquarian world. Among them the Dean of Chichester, the historian of the Archbishops of Canterbury, has honoured us by becoming an Honorary Member. Some more new members are now waiting to be elected.

Our numbers have, however, we regret to say, been diminished by the loss of some valued members. We may mention the names of Sir William Smith Marriott, a Local Secretary, and constant friend to the Society; of Sir John Lubbock; of Mr. Allan, another Local Secretary; and of Mr. Pretty, our Assistant Secretary.

Our balance in hand is £569. 8s. 9d.; our arrears, considerably more than half that sum. The former will at once be considerably diminished by the expenses of our sixth volume, lately issued. We fear from experience that there is less chance of much diminution to the latter. It is hoped, however, in the course of the present

year, to make a renewed effort towards remedying the serious deficiency.

We have completed our researches at Richborough under the same kind superintendence as at the commencement. Without any startling discoveries, much that is interesting, and useful in clearing away old prejudices, has come to light, and our Roman collection has been not a little enriched. The details will be told by our explorer himself in our next volume.

A Saxon cemetery, previously unknown, has recently come to light in Bifrons Park, near Canterbury, and Lord Conyngham, renewing his former kindness to the Society at Sarr, has given us leave to excavate it. It is hoped to begin to do so later in the Autumn, when our digging will be of less injury to the turf of the Park.

We have been fortunate in securing the services of Mr. Lightfoot, lately of the British Museum, as our new Assistant Secretary, who has already shown himself a most active and efficient officer.

It is hoped that in the course of the ensuing year our arrangements may be completed with the Trustees of the Charles Museum, at Maidstone, for our possession of separate rooms in Chillington House. A more satisfactory situation for our fast-growing collection could not be found, and we feel sure that the Society will cordially endorse the proceedings of the Council in effecting so desirable an addition to our comfort and usefulness.

Our sixth volume, lately in the hands of our members, was much delayed by an unprecedented series of misfortunes. It is hoped, however, that it has not degenerated from its predecessors. We hear on all sides the most gratifying opinions as to the excellence of our volumes, an excellence mainly attributable to one whom we regard as the founder of our Society, and whose absence to-day we must all regret.

Part of our seventh volume is already in type. From the many kind promises of papers which we have received (among which may be mentioned one from Professor Willis, on the Monastic Buildings of Canterbury Cathedral), we cannot but hope for a volume of more than usual interest and value.

In conclusion, we wish to urge upon our members the great importance of giving immediate information of any discovery bearing upon the History and Antiquities of our County, and of all uniting to do our best towards continuing the prosperity of our flourishing and useful Society.

The following addition to the Society's Rule 3 was proposed and carried unanimously :—

“ But the Council shall have power, at the instance of the President, to hold their meetings at other places within the County if it shall seem advisable.”

Five retiring Members of the Council were re-elected, the Rev. A. J. Pearman being elected in the room of J. B. Sheppard, Esq., who had been of late unable to attend. The Auditors of the preceding year were re-elected; and eleven new members of the Society were elected.

Ashford Church was then visited, under the guidance of the Rev. A. J. Pearman, who read an interesting lecture on its history; and a short excursion was made to Godinton, where J. Burra, Esq., conducted the Society over the house, and apologized for the absence of Major Toke. The carriages returned by Great Chart Church and Court Lodge, and the moated manor house of Singleton.

Dinner was in the old Corn Exchange, in the High Street, at half-past four o'clock, the noble President taking the chair. The evening meeting was held in the new Corn Exchange, under the Presidency of Sir Walter Stirling, Bart., where the Rev. A. J. Pearman read a paper of much research on the history of Ashford, followed by a few words on Kentish tenures from Mr. R. Furley and the Chairman; and Mr. Thurston read some interesting notes on the Pilgrims' Way through Kent.

On Friday, August 3, an excursion was made by way of Boughton Aluph, where the Rev. the Vicar received the Society at the church, to that of Godmersham, which, with the manor house adjoining, were seen under the guidance of the Rev. Walter Field, the Vicar. Chilham Castle was next visited, and the Rev. R. C. Jenkins delivered the following interesting lecture on its history:—

In our observations upon Chilham Castle we may profitably divide the subject into—1, Roman Chilham; 2, Saxon Chilham; 3, Chilham under the Norman and Plantagenet Kings; and 4, Chilham in the Tudor and Elizabethan period.

An early tradition, to which Camden may be said to have given fixity, has assigned to Chilham a very important place in the second expedition of Cæsar to Britain. He mentions this as the current belief of the inhabitants of that day, suggesting even that the first syllable of the name itself, *Jul* or *Chil*, pointed to the name of Julius, and that the great mound called Julliberie's Grave contained the name of Laberius, his tribune. I cannot but accept the tradition to

which Camden adverts as having—from its early and settled character, at a time when theories were not in fashion, and when local influences were not disturbed and broken up—a remarkable weight. But we may venture to reject the derivation, for at this point documentary evidence presents itself.

The first document in which Chilham is mentioned is undoubtedly the charter of King Wihdraed in 699, which Kemble (on what grounds it does not appear) places among the doubtful charters of his great series. There can, however, be little doubt that however it may have suffered in the hands of copyists, the names contained in it are genuine, and that the "*locus qui appellatur Cilling*," at which it was issued, is Chilham. This is established beyond a doubt by the only other Saxon charter in which the place is named, that of Cænulf of Mercia, dated November 25th, 814,—a charter of undoubted authenticity, which describes the adjacent localities so clearly as to make identification easy. The king here grants to Archbishop Wulfred a ploughland in the province of Kent, "in a place and region which is called Westan-widde, to wit, a certain land called 'Cynincges (king's) cua lond,' with its adjacent boundaries, viz. on the east grafon-eah, on the west the shore which is called in our proper tongue 'mearcfleot' and seleberting-lond, and on the south the ancient street which adjoins the port which is called Cillingg." To this gift are added the woods in the Blean appertaining to the land in question, together with the marshes, fords, etc., which belonged to it. The district here marked out is obviously that which lies between the present parish of Grave-ney, the marshes of Oare, which lie to the west of it, and the road leading to Chilham on the south. There can be no doubt that the Stour at the latter place was then so far navigable as to confer on Chilham the title of a port, while the name of the land itself, the King's Quay, would be naturally derived to it by the quay which it possessed on its northern boundary, which (as being the river Thames itself) it was unnecessary here to mention. It is noticeable that one of the most ancient of the manors in Chilham contains in it the earliest form of the name, viz. Shillingheld, while the ancient village of Gilling (also of Roman settlement) in Yorkshire, and the village of Gillingham, near Chatham, present the same with equal clearness.

The derivation of the word, like that of all the most ancient Roman settlements in Kent, and generally in Britain and France, is to be looked for in a Celtic source. And here a singular illustration presents itself in the wood-crowned hill which is immediately opposite to Chilham, whose name, Penypot, is simply, and with scarcely any perceptible change, the pen-y-pwth of the Britons, *i. e.* the head of the mound or hill. The first syllable of Chilham is similarly the Cil of the Celtic languages, which is so frequent in Ireland, Scotland,

and even in England, and the original meaning of which appears to have been a recess or retreat—a name peculiarly applicable to an early fastness like this. Whether this is the same word as *cyl*, an enclosure, and has its cognate form in the Anglo-Saxon *celd* (a hiding-place), and in the Latin *cella* and our modern *cell*, we need not stop to inquire. There is, however, good reason for believing that the name of Chilham was merely Anglicized by the Saxon conquerors of Kent, and that its root is to be sought, not in some Saxon personal name, as has been generally accepted, but in the remotest sources of our history and language. I am tempted here also to offer the conjecture that the name Julliber, or Jullibery, is much more probably a corruption of Selebert, whose possessions seem to have been of great extent in this district, than to have any claim to a Roman original. We have here Selebert's lond, and Great Chart is anciently called Selebert's Chart.¹ From all this it may not be improbable that Julliber's Grave is rather a mound for defence, thrown up by an early Saxon possessor of Chilham, than a jumble of two Roman names.

From names and derivations which form as it were the grammar of archæology, and, like other grammar, the most tedious of all its subjects, I pass on to consider the history which illustrates our preliminary work, and which I may venture to hope will be less irksome to all of us.

I. What then was the position and what were the fortunes of Chilham during the Roman period? Here we are led back to that preliminary question which underlies every inquiry of the kind relating to Kent, Where was the landing-place of Cæsar in his second British expedition, and what was the base of those operations of which we read in his fifth book? This is truly a Cretan labyrinth, which I can only venture to enter just so far as may enable us to see the probable place which Chilham filled in that campaign.

In this question we are fortunate to have engaged the attention of the Emperor of the French, who, in his second volume of the '*Vie de César*,' has with great learning and judgment arbitrated between the different ports which claim the questionable honour of his landing. We cannot wonder that the Sussex claims have been at once set aside, nor that Deal has been restored to its ancient place in this controversy; at least if we read the learned notes of Mr. Long, in his edition of the Commentaries, and the excellent paper of Dr. Cardwell, who has supplied one or two facts which complete Mr. Long's argument, and render it (as it appears to me) unassailable. But after the Emperor has landed his hero, it seems to me that he has placed his advanced

Not to mention also Sibbertston (or Selebertston), one of the subordinate manors of Chilham itself, and the hundred of Selbrittenden, or Seleberts-den.

camp and the scene of the battle in a locality which he could never have assigned to them had he seen it otherwise than in a map. Taking the twelve miles of advance described by Cæsar too literally, or relying too much on a figure which was liable to endless mistakes from the carelessness of copyists, he has made this the known quantity in his equation, and arrived at his result from this one assumption, without considering how fatally it dislocates every other feature of the narrative. The twelve miles would bring him to the village of Kingston, on the Little Stour, and here therefore (as here there is at least a nominal river) he fixes the scene of the celebrated encounter with the Britons, with the history of which we are acquainted. But let any one placing himself at this point, take up the narrative of Cæsar, and the insuperable difficulties of this conclusion will at once appear; for the *flumen* towards which the Britons advance (*ex loco superiore*) will be found (at least in August, when this expedition took place) to be as dry as any one of the surrounding hills. In fact, what the Emperor has mistaken for a regular river is simply what we call a nailbourne—a spring coming and going with the returns of autumn and summer. Nor could it even then have been anything else. The possibility of its offering the slightest obstacle to an invader is absolutely out of the question. At its fullest season a Lilliputian army might have forded it, while in August it would have been passed over by the Roman soldiery *sicco pede*, without the slightest recognition of its claim to be a *flumen*, or even a rivulet.

Without dwelling further on a question which the mere aspect of the place must settle in a moment, we will ask, What may we conclude to have been the scene of this first meeting of our ancestors with the power and the civilization of Rome? Let us remember that the journey was during the night, when the ground would be rapidly passed over, and the actual distance would be less apparent. Let us bear also in mind that the space traversed is only described as “*millia passuum circiter duodecim*,” and that even then the position of the enemy was merely discerned afar off; and let us keep in view the fact that they were discovered as occupying a considerable elevation of ground behind a river sufficiently large to form a serious obstacle to a contending army. Let us but place ourselves in the presence of these plain facts, and the claim of Chilham (even if the plea of a possible error of the transcribers be surrendered) must, it appears to me, be paramount; for at this point we bring the writer to a place in which every feature of nature corroborates his history, and the puzzle becomes fitted in every one of its parts. For here we have really a *flumen*. Here we have wooded heights corresponding exactly with his narrative. Here we have banks which might have formed an obstacle to an army advancing from the eastward,

and here moreover we have ancient mounds and earthworks which give silent testimony to the fact that Chilham was a military position of the highest importance even during the British period; while the traditions and even the instincts of our earliest antiquaries lead us on to the same inevitable conclusion. I am aware that other points of the Great Stour have been pointed out as satisfying the terms of this narrative, and my learned friend Mr. Long has mentioned Grove Ferry as one. But he had not seen Chilham. But however different may be our views with regard to the battle and its scene, there is no room for doubting that Chilham asserted its rank as a place of defence immediately after the occupation of the country by the Romans; for there is scarcely a break in its pedigree as a fortress from that day until the more fortunate one in which the civil residence superseded the medieval fastness. The size and form of the tumuli which are here so frequent would lead to the belief that they are British, and though (as Hasted tells us) the great mound called Julliberies Grave yielded no archæological fruits when it was explored by a former Earl of Winchelsea, much is said to have been revealed by the excavations made by Sir Dudley Digges for the foundations of his house in 1616. Unhappily, the traces of Roman work which were then disclosed have not been satisfactorily described, yet enough seems to have been then discovered to show that the ancient tower which at present remains was but a portion of a much larger building, and that the stately walls which we now see are grafted on a very early stock.

“When (as Hasted tells us) Sir Dudley Digges (about the year 1610) pulled down the old mansion of Chilham, and dug the foundations deeper for the present house, the basis of a much more ancient building was discovered, and many culinary vessels of the Romans were found at a considerable depth.” This “*Roma sotteranea*” of Chilham—if we may so call it—we are now of course unable to explore; but there are features in the ground-plan and foundations of the ruined keep adjacent which indicate that Roman origin, the proofs of which were unfortunately re-entombed by Sir Dudley Digges without record. The feature to which I allude is the polygonal form of the tower or keep, which separates it at once from the broad and square character of the Norman keep, and from that circular form which (though also Roman) is common to buildings of the third and later periods. Vitruvius’s direction in regard to towers is here very important: “*Turres rotundæ aut polygonæ sunt faciendæ*” (lib. i. c. v.); and I venture to suggest that a polygonal foundation, whose history mounts up to so early a date as this, presents a very good claim to actual Roman origin.

Unfortunately the ancient castle of Chilham has been cased, and

in some parts recased, with coatings of faced flint or rubble-work; and so complete is the disguise, that very few portions of the earlier work are exposed. The octagonal portion of the Roman Pharos at Dover is in like manner faced with regular stonework, which conceals the lower masonry. There is here, however, a very ancient portion of the foundation which, though not Roman, presents features of a very peculiar antiquity, and which closely adjoins the present mansion. A course of squared pieces of chalk is here interposed between irregular wide-jointed masonry, the whole having been originally covered with a mortar of a yellow colour, more ancient to all appearance than that which is employed in the other portions of the building. This deserves attention, and it is further to be observed that many of the stones appear, by the concrete attaching to them, to have been taken from Roman work, and that one or two fragments of Roman brick may be here detected.

But what was the probable object of the building during this first period? That it was not merely a villa is proved by the defensive works with which it is surrounded, as well as by the commanding position it occupies. That it was not merely a work of defence appears to me to be indicated by the plan of its foundations, as far as we are able to trace them. The assumption that it was one of the *castra stativa* of the Romans is hardly compatible with its extent. It would remain, then, that it was one of those foundations known better to the distant colonies of Rome than to Italy itself, and known rather in the later than in the earlier history of the Empire, in which the objects of residence and defence were united,—a union which we find developed in the sixth century in a very remarkable manner, and which doubtless had earlier types in Germany and in more distant Britain. Vitruvius, who wrote in the time of Augustus, separates military and civil, defensive and residential buildings so completely, and at all points, that we should be led to fix the date of their union at that later period when the necessities of the Empire required the residence of a governor or principal man to be itself a kind of fortress. A remarkable instance of this kind is that *castellum*, which Nicetius built on the high ground rising over the Moselle, in which a magnificent *aula* was enclosed in the same fortifications with a defensive keep or tower, strongly reminding us of the plan which presents itself here. It is from this union that the castellated residences of the mediæval period sprang, and a remarkable instance of its highest development at an early period is that of Wissehrad, the citadel of Prague, which was founded in 683, and included within its walls a palace, a church, and a fortress. I am led to think that Chilham, in like manner, was erected as a fortified residence, and that it was this which adapted it to its occupancy in the Saxon period by

the Kentish kings, possibly to supply the residential sacrifices they had made to the Church at Canterbury, Reculver, and elsewhere. We find it first mentioned in this character in the charter of Wiht-ræd, already referred to.

II. The history of Chilham as an *aula regia* in the Saxon period is involved in almost as deep obscurity as its history as a Roman *castellum*. And here we must not trust ourselves without great caution to Hasted, who, out of the few and slender threads of Saxon mention of Chilham, has woven a positive fabric of history. After assuming, first, that King Wiht-ræd (whose only known connection with the place is derived from his having dated a charter from it) "made it a place of much greater strength and defence" than in the previous age, then that the absence of any mention of the place till the Danish invasions is only to be attributed to the fact that the history of Kent itself is involved, at this period, in the same obscurity,—he narrates the destruction of the castle by the Danes and its desolation until the Conquest, though the site and domain seem in the time of the Confessor to have been possessed by one Syred, whose name appears in Domesday. Hasted's loose words, that "the Danes, in one of their incursions,—probably in either the year 838 or 851, in both which they took and plundered Canterbury,—sacked and demolished this castle," show that the story is based rather upon conjecture than evidence. It is much more probable that the castle or station had then long since failed, and that Chilham was better known as a river-port for small craft than as a stronghold, from the fact that it is called, as late as 814, the "*portus de Cilling*,"—not the *villa*, or *cortis*, or anything to designate a mere royal or patrician residence. It may be noted here that the tradition of the port survives in the name of one of the ancient members of the manor, Esture or Estower, situated upon the river. I find mention of it as a small town in the Saxon period, in connection with the lives of the saints of that prolific age, and as the scene of one of the miracles recounted by Goscelinus, in his 'Lives of the Abbots of St. Augustine.'

III. And now the clouds of its earlier history break away, and the grand procession of royal, noble, and gentle possessors who have succeeded to this fair inheritance opens to the view.

At the survey of Domesday, Chilham is described as held by Fulbert of the great Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, at whose attainder it passed to the Crown. It is difficult to determine generally the extent of the tenant-right of these Norman feudatories, and in this case the difficulty is increased by the fact that the buildings and reparations of the castle of Chilham were carried on, not by the tenant, but by the feudal landlord. For in the 17 Henry II. (as appears by the Pipe Rolls), £100 was spent upon the castle by the royal writ, and in

the following year (1172) a further outlay of £152. 8s. was made; in the next year £72. 8s. 9d. was expended upon it; and in the same year we find that it was garrisoned, probably on account of the quarrel which arose in that year between Henry and his son. In the twenty-first year of the same reign £7 was expended on the works; and in the 4 Richard I. it was repaired at a cost of £20. 7s., and a further sum of a hundred shillings was laid out upon it four years after. In the 1 John, the gate, bridges, and other of its defences were repaired, and soon after, in the year 1202, it passed entirely from the possession of the Crown into that of Fulbert de Dover, who rendered £78 into the Exchequer for its possession.

Of the family of Fulbert de Dover little is known beyond the fact that, like most of the great Norman feudatories, they were munificent benefactors of the Church. Hugo de Dover, the son of Fulbert (who is also called De Chilham), granted the church of Chilham to the alien priory of St. Bertin, which donation was confirmed by his great-nephew Fobert de Dover in 1180, with whom, according to that common fatality in Norman Houses, the direct male descent failed in only three generations,—the inheritance falling to his daughter Rohesia, during whose lifetime, in the year 1209, a gleam of royalty again fell on the Castle of Chilham.

The terrors of excommunication, in addition to the interdict, were impending over King John. The three months given him by the Pope for repentance had closed upon him, and one reprieve after another had been granted in the vain hope of a settlement, until the octave of St. Michael was fixed as the limit of the Papal forbearance. Stephen Langton, the Archbishop, who was working the terrible instruments of spiritual torture from the other side of the Channel, "was invited to meet the King at Dover, letters of safe-conduct being sent to him both by the King and the barons. With the Bishops of London and Ely, he crossed to Dover on the 2nd of October. The King came to Chilham Castle, and sent the Justiciary and the Bishop of Winchester with certain articles which they were to demand of the Archbishop. They were such as he could not agree to, and he recrossed the sea."¹

If the preceptory of Swingfield, in which John surrendered his crown to the Legate, must ever be a scene of humiliating reflection for those who feel that the honour of England is involved in that of her Crown, the castle of Chilham must ever be associated with the better traditions of our unceasing, though then unsuccessful struggle against the only power which has ever trampled on the liberties of England. We may imagine the arrival of the King among his barons; his entertainment by the heiress of the great Norman to

¹ 'Life of Stephen Langton,' p. 50.

whom the very key of the kingdom had been entrusted; his bold resolution not to proceed to Dover, lest he should seem to give way at such a juncture as this; the stern patience in which he awaited the return of his commissioners; the proud thoughts which filled his mind, and which live in the lines of one who alone could worthily retrace them,—

“What earthly names to interrogatories
Can task the free breath of a sacred king?
Thou canst not, Cardinal, devise a name
So slight, unworthy, and ridiculous,
To charge me to an answer, as the Pope.
Tell him this tale; and from the mouth of England
Add thus much more,—that no Italian priest
Shall tithe or toll in our dominions.”

And now our scene changes. The Norman succession passes away. The daughter of this great heiress carries the barony of Chilham into a distant and almost foreign race. The family of Athol, of the earlier line, and the claimants to the Scottish throne, the Balliols, take up the inheritance in right of their alliance to the last descendant of Fulbert de Dover. Alexander de Balliol holds it for life as the second husband of Isabella de Dover; while the Earl of Athol, as the son of Isabella, succeeds him in the possession of it.

And here opens the first act of what we may call the Tragedy of Chilham. The Earl of Athol, of whose connection with Kentish history our only memorials are the tombs at Ashford and Canterbury, had taken part with Bruce in the endeavour to rescue his country from the English, into whose hands he fell after the successes of Edward at Cantire. Leland, in his extracts from an early chronicle, writes: “When they had taken the Fortress they found not Bruce, but there they took his wife the Daughter of the Counte of Hulster and Neil his brother. And anon after was the Counte of Athelis taken that fled from the aforesaid Fortres; who because he was Cosyn to the King of England and Sunne to Maude of Dover his Aunte was sent to London and there was hanged upon a Pair of Gallows 30 foote hyer than other,”—a terrible penalty of greatness, reminding us of the old precedent of Haman. Walter de Hemingburgh asserts that the Queen and the nobility made earnest suit in behalf of this unfortunate Earl on the ground of his relationship to the King, but in vain. He was ordered to London and to be hung higher than the rest,—“*ceteris excelsior suspendi.*”

Thus again Chilham reverted to the Crown, until, in the reign of the second Edward, it was granted to a family whose strange vicissitudes were remarkable even in that day of sudden and surprising change. The family of Badlesmere, whose earlier history was as brilliant as its close was disastrous, had grown up under the shadow

of the older House of Crèveœur, and from being at first the mere feudal tenants of the manor from which they took their name had—through success in arms and in law, as well as through great alliances—become in the opening of this reign one of the most powerful and illustrious in England. Bartholomew de Badlesmere—grandson of Guncelin de Badlesmere, who fought under Richard I. in Palestine, and son of another Bartholomew by the heiress of the Fitzbernards—had succeeded to or acquired so vast an estate as to be known as “the rich Lord Badlesmere of Ledes.” Few places in East Kent have not been in some way connected with this remarkable personage, and Chilham figures most prominently in his eventful history.

The opening of his career was, like that of Wolsey, a succession of royal favours and sumptuous entertainments of royalty. Lambarde tells us (though he mentions not his authority) that he magnificently feasted, in his castle of Chilham, the Queen and many of the nobility, whom he presented with the most liberal gifts and rewards. He was aspiring in this manner to the Earldom of Kent, but it is probable that the very profusion of his entertainment rather excited the jealousy of the Court than conciliated its favour. However this may be, it is certain that a sudden change came over his mind, the best explanation of which lies in the disappointment of a proud man failing in his ambition. Feeling that he had no further hopes from the King, or perhaps lured by the offers of the party of the Earl of Lancaster, in an evil hour he renounced his allegiance. He had, however, so well dissembled his treason to the very last, that he was even associated with the Mortimers and other of the King’s party in a mission to the Barons at Sherburn to treat of an accommodation. He took advantage of the opportunity to pass over to the enemy’s camp. In consequence of this and of the fact that the wife of Badlesmere had denied lodging in the castle of Leeds to his Queen, Isabella, the King laid siege to the place. Badlesmere, who was at Witney, in Oxfordshire, sent a force to defend his castle and to forbid entrance to the Queen, and endeavoured to prevail on the Barons to advance upon Leeds Castle to support his cause. They, however, having only proceeded as far as Kingston, refused to go further. Badlesmere fell back with them, and Leeds surrendered to the King. Badlesmere’s wife and child were sent to the Tower of London, and the King sent on two commissioners to demand access to the castle of Chilham. Henry de Valoyns, who held it as constable, at once delivered it into the King’s hands, with everything belonging to Badlesmere which it contained; and justiciaries were forthwith sent into Kent to inquire into the treason of the Badlesmeres and to discover their accomplices.

The King had for some time been aware of the infidelity of his

steward, and formed a determination to destroy him. In the words of an old chronicler preserved by Leland, "*Rex molitur confusionem Bartholomæi de Badelesmere.*" It would seem that he had grasped at the Earldom of Kent from the significant words of the same chronicler, who alleges that the elevation of the King's brother, Edmund of Wodestoke, to that earldom, was in order to check the ascendancy of the high-reaching Badlesmere. The almost royal pageant he had enacted at Leeds and Chilham was enough to awaken the suspicions of royalty in that day of universal unfaithfulness. Prohibited by the King to enter Kent, he passed over from Tilbury, attended with a vast retinue, to Higham, in Kent, where he was received by his followers and accompanied, in a kind of triumphal procession to Leeds Castle; from thence he passed on with them to Chilham, attended by seventeen soldiers—probably representing the number of his feudal contingent for the defence of Dover Castle—"lineâ armaturâ sub supertunicis coopertis." From Chilham the procession—swelled, we may suppose, in its numbers as it advanced—marched upon the city of Canterbury. Those among them who bore arms, with uncovered swords,—all of them with tokens of any but a peaceful purpose,—made their way to the shrine of St. Thomas. Never, probably, was there greater astonishment and confusion; never deeper or better dissembled indignation among the magnates of the Cathedral or of the city than was produced by this strange and motley pilgrimage, which was doubtless intended by the revolted baron as the solemn consecration of his rebellion, for it was at once succeeded by the attack upon the castles of Leeds and Chilham, which our narrative has already anticipated.

But now the end of the faithless steward was near at hand. The Earl of Lancaster—fearing, perhaps, a possible rival in the new convert rather than a faithful partisan, or disgusted at the very excess of treason which such a change involved—not only declined his services, but refused his aid to the Barons as long as Badlesmere remained in their ranks. Forsaken on all sides and hunted by the King's party from place to place, the wretched man appears to have sought a refuge with his nephew, the Bishop of Lincoln, at his manor of Stow, in which last hiding-place he was taken prisoner and hurried to Canterbury, where he was hanged on a gallows near the Blean, and his head cut off and placed upon a pike on the Burgate.

And now follow the usual vicissitudes of the old baronial families—the son restored in blood to perpetuate a name which is destined to expire in himself; the sisters, as coheiresses, dividing the inheritance between their husbands—none of them able to re-enact the history of so great a past. And yet every one of the four noblemen who shared in this division filled a conspicuous place in the records

of their day. For the eldest of the sisters of the last Badlesmere was the wife of John de Vere, Earl of Oxford; the second was married to the Lord Ros, the ancestor of the Earls and Dukes of Rutland; the third to William Bohun, Earl of Northampton; and the fourth to Sir John Tibetot, or Tiptoft. Lord Ros succeeded to Chilham, but his successor being an adherent of the House of Lancaster, was attainted, and the estate again fell to the Crown.

IV. Thus it remained, affected only by occasional grants for life, until the time of Henry VIII., who granted it to Sir Thomas Cheney, Treasurer of his Household and Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, to hold *in capite*. And now we arrive at Chilham in its decadence, and have to deplore the caprice which removed to a distant place the very stones which adorned this stately residence; and in order to complete a dwelling in the uninviting Isle of Shepey, dismantled an edifice which Leland describes, even in 1550, to have been not only commodious for use and beautiful for pleasure, but strong also for defence and resistance.

Sir Thomas Cheney, the perpetrator of this act of vandalism, belonged to an ancient and distinguished family, which—by its alliance with the knightly family of Shurland, in the Isle of Shepey—was led to fix its principal seat at the manor of Shurland, in Eastchurch. Coming into possession of Chilham Castle, he seems to have regarded it only as a useful quarry of stone to enable him to rebuild his ancestral seat at Shurland. His son Henry, created Lord Cheney by Queen Elizabeth, appears to have launched into such a sea of extravagance, that his property, both at Chilham and Shurland, was speedily alienated, the former being conveyed to the Kempes of Olantigh, while the latter was exchanged with the Crown. It is this Lord Cheney whose somewhat singular entertainment at Rochester is mentioned in a paper, extracted from the corporation records of that city, in the second volume of our ‘Archæologia.’ Two shillings (it appears) were disbursed by its hospitable Mayor, Richard Harlowe, in 1578, “for wine and apples given to my Lord of Huntingdon and my Lord Cheney.”

In the hands of its new possessors, the great Kentish family of Kempe (which to its ancient knightly honours added the dignity of the Roman purple in the person of Cardinal Kempe), Chilham was not destined to remain long; for the son of Sir Thomas Kempe dying without male heirs, his representation passed to his four daughters, and to Mary, the wife of Sir Dudley Digges, was assigned the manor of Chilham.

Those who have visited the church of Chilham will not easily forget the ostentatious memorial which disfigures its aisle, and in which the successful lawyer has travestied in honour of his wife the simple

pillar which Jacob raised for Rachel. Yet Sir Dudley Digges, though we may well regret that he recklessly destroyed any early foundations, deserves admiration for what he actually did to restore the castle of Chilham. Its resemblance, as he restored it and as we now see it, to the house built by Lord Campden at Kensington but a few years before is so striking, as almost to lead to the supposition that the one *façade* suggested the other.

Mr. Foss, in his graphic sketch of Sir Dudley's life, as one of the "legal celebrities of Kent," informs us that "he was born at Digges' Court, near Barham, and after an active life,—in which he successively figured as a Member of Parliament, a voyager in quest of the North-west Passage, a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, an ambassador to Russia, and a prisoner in the Fleet and in the Tower,—at last, in 1636, obtained the office of Master of the Rolls, although he was entirely ignorant of law,—one of the many instances of the corruption of the times."¹

From about 1616 to 1724, a longer period than most of its predecessors, the family of Digges resided at Chilham, when it passed to those of Colebrooke, Heron, and Wildman, and became finally vested in the present honoured proprietor.

The Society were hospitably entertained at Chilham Castle by Mr. and Mrs. Hardy, and, after visiting the church, returned by way of Tremworth, the old seat of the Valvignes and Kemp families, and Wye College, to which members were kindly admitted by the Rev. Dr. Noad, the Principal. The rain stopped a projected visit to two tumuli on Wye Down, in which, however, upon an excavation just made, nothing had been found.

A good museum of local antiquities was exhibited during the two days in the new Corn Exchange.

ON THE 6th of August, three days only after his presence at the head of the Society, in his wonted health and activity, and, as will never be forgotten, with even more than his wonted courtesy, kindness, and energy for its welfare, died the Marquess Camden, its first President, to the inexpressible grief of all its members.

THE THIRD Council was held on Thursday, September 27th, at the Guildhall, Canterbury.

It was proposed by Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen, and seconded by the Rev. Canon Robertson, and carried unanimously,—

¹ Arch. Cant., Vol. V. p. 30.

That the Council cannot hold their first meeting after the death of their President, the Most Noble the Marquess Camden, without recording their deep and sincere affliction at the loss which they have sustained. One of the earliest suggesters of this Society, and its President from its first foundation, he not only contributed in a most important degree to its progress and success by his zealous and constant attention to its interests, but endeared himself to those over whom he presided by his invariable kindness and courtesy. The Council cannot but remember with gratitude that the very last public act of his Lordship's life was in the service of the Society.

And that a copy of the above expression of the feelings of the Council be transmitted to the present Marquess, with their respectful condolence with him and the other members of the family.

It was also resolved,—

That the Honorary Secretary be requested to communicate to the Earl Amherst the wish of the Council to nominate his Lordship to the Society for election to the office of President, and to request his Lordship to honour the Society by consenting to be put in nomination.

And that, should such consent be obtained, a Special General Meeting of the Society be called in London on the earliest convenient opportunity, at which the Council will so nominate his Lordship.

Thanks were voted to the Rev. A. J. Pearman, the Rev. R. C. Jenkins, T. Thurston, Esq., and W. Durrant Cooper, Esq., for papers contributed to the Ashford General Meeting; to the Local Committee for their arrangements on the same occasion, and to T. Thurston, Esq., for his especial exertions to secure its success; to Major Toke, for admitting the Society to Godinton, and to J. Burra, Esq., for conducting them through the house; to the Very Rev. the Dean of Norwich, the Rev. James Billington, the Rev. Walter Field, and the Rev. J. P. Alcock, for welcoming the Society at their churches of Great Chart, Boughton Aluph, Godmersham, and Ashford respectively; to Charles Hardy, Esq., and Mrs. Hardy, for their hospitality at Chilham Castle; to the Rev. Dr. Noad, for welcoming the Society at Wye College; to J. S. W. Earle-Drax, Esq., for his courtesy at the same meeting; to the Marquess Conyngham, for kindly presenting to the Society the Saxon relics lately found at Bifrons, and for permission to make fresh researches there; to the Rev. Lambert B. Larking, for his handsome present

of British gold coins found at Ryarsh ; to the Rev. J. C. Riddell, Major Luard, the Rev. F. J. Hazlewood, J. H. Parker, Esq., W. Durrant Cooper, Esq., W. Scott Ellis, Esq., Mr. Hooper, and Mr. Harrison, for kind presents to the Museum and Library.

Five new members were elected.

A SPECIAL General Meeting of the Society was held on Tuesday, November 20, at the Freemasons' Tavern, in pursuance of the resolution of the last Council meeting, at which

The Honorary Secretary reported that he had communicated to the Earl Amherst the request of the Council, that he should permit himself to be put in nomination for the Presidency, and his Lordship's kind reply, accepting the nomination, was read to the meeting ; upon which

The Earl Amherst was elected President of the Society by acclamation.

A series of photographs of Kent worthies, from portraits exhibited in the National Portrait Gallery this year, purchased for the Society by the Honorary Secretary in pursuance of a resolution of the Council, was exhibited ; as well as the collection of sulphur casts from Kent seals, lately purchased from Mr. Ready, of the British Museum.

The LAST Meeting of the Council for this year was held at Chillington House, on Thursday, the 13th of December, the Earl Amherst taking the chair for the first time as President.

The Rev. A. J. Pearman was appointed Local Secretary for the Sheerness District, in the room of the Rev. G. Bryant.

The Honorary Secretary reported a considerable decrease in the amount of arrears due to the Society, effected by means of a circular addressed to members whose subscriptions had been owing.

Some fragments of iron weapons, etc., found with skeletons in a stone quarry near Vinter's Park, were exhibited.

The President suggested for consideration that it might be advantageous that the Society should elect a special President for each Annual Meeting from among the residents in the immediate neighbourhood of the meeting. No resolution was taken on the subject.

One new member was elected.

THE FIRST Council for the year 1867 was held at the Guild-hall, Canterbury, on Thursday, the 21st of March.

The Honorary Secretary reported a communication from the Trustees of the Charles Museum at Maidstone, stating that the rooms at Chillington House, long promised to the Society, would now be ready for them in a few months.

And it was resolved,—

That the Council recommends to the General Meeting of the Society, that when the time shall arrive for furnishing their own separate rooms, the expenses of doing so may best be defrayed by selling out from their investments in the Funds the estimated amount.

It was resolved that the General Meeting should take place this year at Dartford; and that Sir P. H. Dyke, Bart., the Rev. R. P. Coates, J. Hayward, Esq., Mr. Dunkin, and the Honorary Secretary, be requested to form a Committee, to arrange its details, with power to add to their number.

C. Powell, Esq., was elected Honorary Local Secretary for the Tunbridge Wells District, in the room of the Rev. D. Winham, to whom thanks were voted on his retirement.

Ten new members were elected.

THE NEXT Council was at the house of the noble President, 43, Grosvenor Square, on Tuesday the 18th of June.

On the motion of the Earl of Stanhope, it was resolved that Wednesday and Thursday, the 24th and 25th of July, should be the days for the General Meeting at Dartford.

Twenty new members were elected.

THE GENERAL Meeting for the year 1867 was commenced at Dartford on Thursday, the 25th of July, (being unavoidably held one day later than originally determined).

It was attended by,—The Earl Amherst, President; Sir Walter Stirling, Bart.; G. Warde Norman, Esq., Mrs. and Miss Norman; the Venerable Archdeacon Grant; C. Powell, Esq.; Dr. Farre; J. Fergusson, Esq.; R. C. Hussey, Esq.; J. Fremlyn Streatfeild, Esq.; J. H. Parker, Esq.; M. H. Bloxam, Esq.; J. Burt, Esq.; the Rev. R. Drake; the Rev. Arthur Eden; H. Forde, Esq., Mrs. and Miss Forde; the Rev. R. P. Coates and Mrs. Coates; the Rev. J. P. Alcock and Mrs. Alcock; the Rev. Thomas Hugo; F. C. J. Spurrell, Esq.; the Rev. B. Poste and Mrs. Poste; the Rev. F. E. Take; the Rev. A. J. Pearman and Mrs. Pearman; the Rev. E. H. Lee; T.

Godfrey Faussett, Esq., Honorary Secretary, and upwards of a hundred and fifty others.

The Business Meeting was held in the County Court, when the Report for the year was read, as follows :—

The Council of the Kent Archaeological Society have the gratification of presenting to its members their Tenth Annual Report of Proceedings and events.

First in time, and foremost in all our minds, is the great loss which turned to sudden grief the success of our last meeting—the death of him to whom so greatly we owed that success, as well as our brilliant and useful career from the first foundation of the Society. With its welfare always before him, our late President was ever ready to devote to it all the energy of his mind, and all the kindness of his heart; prompt to suggest for its good, and to work out the suggestions of others; never sparing thought, trouble, or fatigue, which could turn to its advantage. His sudden removal from our head we have scarcely yet recovered, and through the years in which we hope to flourish and to labour on, we cannot fail to look back and attribute a large share of the good which this Society may have achieved, and of the name and fame which it may have acquired, to the active co-operation and the thoughtful and judicious kindness, which it enjoyed during the first anxious years of its existence from the President of its earliest choice.

The Earl Amherst most kindly yielded to the general wish of the Society that he should honour us by becoming Lord Camden's successor, and it is with feelings of great gratification that the Society welcomes him here to-day.

We are grieved to have to record further the loss of James Espinasse, Esq., and James Crosby, Esq., two of the most valued members of our body.

In the general affairs of our Society we are happy to record nothing but advancing prosperity.

Our numbers continue steadily to increase. At our last Annual Meeting we elected twenty-nine members, and at the various Councils held since, thirty-five, making sixty-four members elected in the year.

As to our funds. We have a balance of £461. 12s. 2d. at our bankers; a well-timed application having succeeded in calling in some of our outstanding arrears, which still, however, remain formidable. Our investments in the Funds amount to £450, the result of payments for Life Compositions.

A proposal for utilizing some of this latter fund will be submitted to you to-day, it being considered by the Council the proper fund to be

drawn upon for fitting up the Society's separate rooms, now ready for them at Chillington House. This most desirable and long-wished for arrangement has at length been made, and we shall henceforth be able to exhibit our Collections, and dispose our Library, in a manner suitable to their importance and the convenience of our members.

Another Saxon cemetery has lately been discovered in the parish of Horton-Kirby, near Dartford. Our Local Secretary, the Rev. R. P. Coates, has been kindly excavating for us some of the graves, and their produce is exhibited to-day. It is hoped to proceed with some more of these graves.

Our seventh volume is in the press, and will be issued, we hope, before the end of the year. We believe we may say with confidence that it will prove the most valuable of our series, and if it be later than we could wish, it will, we trust, be remembered that excellence and speed are not often compatible.

A Committee has been formed of noblemen and gentlemen of the County, principally members of our Society, and presided over by our own noble President, to consider the publication of a new History of Kent, embodying the now dormant collections, most valuable as they are, of the late Rev. Thomas Streatfeild, and of the Rev. Lambert Larking. The Council feel sure that the cordial help not only of the Society itself, but of all individual members of it, will be forthcoming in every possible way towards bringing about this most desirable object. It is in case of an undertaking like this, of real and immense historical importance to our County, that the machinery of our Society may be made most useful, as in collecting information, literary help, and subscribers to the work.

In conclusion, we will only beg our members to join in continuing this Society, as heretofore for ten years, in the first rank of similar Institutions.

The following resolution, of which notice had been duly given, was put from the chair and carried unanimously :—

That the expense of furnishing the Society's new rooms at Chillington House be defrayed by selling out a sum not exceeding £150 from their investments in the Funds; and that C. Wykeham Martin, Esq., A. Randall, Esq., and the Honorary Secretary be requested to form a Committee for these purposes.

Of the six retiring members of the Council three were re-elected, and J. Wingfield Larking, Esq., C. Powell, Esq., J. Fremlyn Streatfeild, Esq., and F. C. J. Spurrell, Esq., were elected in the room of G. M. Arnold, Esq., E. F. Astley, Esq., and G. Wickham, Esq., and of James Crosby, Esq., deceased.

In the room also of the last-named gentleman, G. T. Tomlin, Esq., was elected Auditor; J. J. Howard, Esq., being re-elected.

Sixteen new members were elected.

The meeting then proceeded to view the remains of the Priory of Dartford, where the Rev. R. P. Coates kindly read some remarks illustrative of its history. Dartford Church was next inspected, and its details were explained by Mr. J. H. Parker. Carriages were then ready to convey the party to Stone Church, where the Society was received by the Rev. F. H. Murray, the Vicar, who kindly pointed out its great beauties, and gave the history of its restoration by Mr. Street.

Dinner was in a tent at the Bull Hotel, at half-past three, P.M., at which Sir Walter Stirling, Bart., took the chair, in the absence of the noble President, whom an important division pending in the House of Lords summoned back to London. After dinner the usual loyal, local, and antiquarian toasts were given and well received.

The evening meeting was held at the Bull Hotel, in the room known as the New Assembly Room. Here was exhibited the temporary Museum, and two lectures were read:—(1) An interesting paper by F. C. J. Spurrell, Esq., on the Early Caves cut deep into the Chalk in this Neighbourhood, and so plentiful in the Country lying between the Darent and the Cray; and (2) a valuable paper by the Rev. R. P. Coates on an Account of the Taxation of Dartford, *temp.* Edward III., giving much interesting information as to the trade, possessions, habits, and names of the inhabitants at that date.

The temporary Museum was small, but contained some choice specimens. A fine collection of flint implements was exhibited by F. Spurrell, Esq., and the Celtic period was further illustrated by the Society's golden Armillæ found in the Medway, and by the British gold coins from Ryarsh, lately presented by the Rev. Lambert Larking. Roman history was exemplified by a beautiful bronze scale-dish, exhibited and also presented to the Society by Mr. F. H. Hards; by a bronze Fibula, the property of the Society, and by some pottery discovered at Dartford. The Rev. G. Rashleigh's beautiful Saxon necklace of pearls and gold, an unique ornament of the period, with the gold rings and armlets discovered with it, was well supported by the Society's late discoveries in the Saxon cemetery at

Horton-Kirby, consisting of iron and bronze implements and ornaments, and by a Saxon drinking-glass, discovered at Faversham, and exhibited by C. H. Hoare, Esq. Mr. Spurrell also exhibited tracings of the early mural paintings of East Wickham Church; and Mr. Monkton an interesting series of English silver coins. The earliest register of Dartford parish was also shown by kind permission of the Vicar; and with it many volumes of MSS. and records, the property of Mr. A. Dunkin.

On Friday, the 26th July, the members present and their friends assembled at the Bull Hotel, for an excursion to several objects of interest in the neighbourhood, and prosecuted their excursion in spite of very unfavourable weather.

Darenth Church, with its interesting Norman chancel, was first visited, the occasion being fortunate, as the church was just cleared for restoration. The Rev. R. P. Coates, the Vicar, described the church and gave its history, to which valuable remarks were added by M. H. Bloxam, Esq., and J. H. Parker, Esq., who both accompanied the party throughout the day, and added to the interest and value of the excursion.

The remains of the Commandery of the Knights of St. John, or Hospitallers, at Sutton-at-Hone, were next visited, consisting of the chapel, now used as a scullery. The Rev. Thomas Hugo, Chaplain of the Order, gave the party a learned history of the Knights, their habits, mode of life, etc., and of their Commanderies in England, their objects and usual arrangement.

Horton-Kirby Church was next inspected, where the chancel, two transepts, and tower space are of beautiful Early English work. The Rev. H. D. Rashleigh, son of the Vicar, received the members with much kindness.

The next halt was at Franks, a fine specimen of an Elizabethan Manor-house, kindly thrown open to the Society by R. Bradford, Esq.; whence the party proceeded to the Church of Eynesford, and was received by the Rev. R. N. Cornwall, the Vicar. The heavy rain prevented the inspection of Eynesford Castle, a visit to the remains of which had formed part of the day's programme. The excursion ended with Lullingstone Castle, the gate-house, hall, and gallery of which were seen by permission of Sir P. H. Dyke, Bart., with the church and the fine monuments which it contains.

THE LAST Council for this year was held at Chillington House, on Thursday, the 31st of October.

It was agreed that the General Meeting for 1868 should be held at Canterbury, and the kind offer of the Rev. Professor Willis to conduct the Society over the Monastic remains of Christ Church was cordially accepted.

Thanks were voted to the Rev. R. P. Coates, for his kind exertions at the late General Meeting, and particularly for his two papers, and his reception of the Society at Darenth Church ; to R. Bradford, Esq., and Sir P. H. Dyke, for admitting the Society to Franks and Lullingstone Castle ; to Flaxman Spurrell, Esq., and the Rev. T. Hugo, for their learned lectures at the same meeting ; to J. H. Parker, and M. H. Bloxam, Esqs., for several valued communications on the same occasion ; to the Revs. F. H. Murray, G. Rashleigh, and R. N. Cornwall, for their kind receptions at Stone, Horton-Kirby, and Eynesford Churches ; to Mr. F. H. Hards, and the Local Committee, for their exertions to ensure the success of the Meeting ; to the Contributors to the local Museum ; and to the Chairman and Directors of the S. E. and L. C. & D. Railways for their courtesy and accommodation.

Also to John Evans, Esq., F.S.A., for his kind present of his collection of Kentish "Tradesmen's Tokens ;" to John Betts, Esq., for his present of Roman pottery ; and to Mr. F. H. Hards, for a Roman scale-dish, found at Dartford.

Ten new members were elected.

Archæologia Cantiana.

THE ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF THE CONVENTUAL BUILDINGS OF THE MONASTERY OF CHRIST CHURCH IN CANTERBURY,

Considered in relation to the Monastic Life and Rules, and drawn up from personal surveys and original documentary research.

BY THE REV. ROBERT WILLIS, M.A., F.R.S., ETC. ETC.,
JACKSONIAN PROFESSOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

IN the first meeting of the British Archæological Association at Canterbury in 1844, I had the pleasure of reading a translation of Gervase, illustrated by reference to the actual buildings of the Cathedral, which was printed in a separate volume in the succeeding year. I then undertook the investigation of the conventual buildings, which was so far completed in 1847 that I was enabled to communicate the results, in the form of a lecture to the Archæological Institute, at their monthly meeting on the 5th of March of that year, of which a report will be found in the fourth volume of the Archæological Journal, p. 160. It was afterwards read to the Society of Antiquaries. But other avocations distracting my attention from the subject, I was for many years unable to find leisure to prepare the memoir for press.

I now gladly avail myself of the kind offer of the Kent Archaeological Society to give this history a place in the '*Archæologia Cantiana*;' and beg to record my warmest acknowledgments to the members of the Chapter, and to their architect, for the liberal access afforded to me, as well to documents as to their private houses, in the chambers of which so many remains of the conventual buildings are concealed. Without such liberty of investigation it would have been useless for me to have undertaken the researches contained in the following pages.

CHAP. I.

INTRODUCTION.

In the year 1067 an accidental fire consumed the Saxon Cathedral of Canterbury, and nearly all the monastic offices that appertained to it, as well as the church of St. John the Baptist, and also the books, the ornaments, the charters and documents.¹ The refectory, dormitory, and so much of the cloisters as enabled the monks to pass from one to the other without being wetted by rain,² remained unhurt.

Three years after this event, the Norman
A.D. 1070. Lanfranc, abbot of Caen, was made Archbishop of Canterbury; and when he came to Canterbury and found that the church which he had undertaken to rule was reduced to almost nothing by fire and ruin,³ he was filled with consternation. But taking courage, and neglecting his own accommodation, he rapidly completed the buildings which were essential to the monks, razing to the ground every remains of the old burnt monastery, and eradicating their foundations.

When these new buildings had been used some years, they became too small for the increased numbers of the convent, for Lanfranc had added one hundred monks,

¹ Arch. Hist. of Cant. Cath. p. 9.

² Ibid. p. 13.

³ Ibid. p. 17.

and ordained that the total number should always be from one hundred and forty to one hundred and fifty. He therefore pulled down his first buildings, and constructed in their stead others, which excelled them greatly, both in beauty and magnitude. He built Cloisters, Celerer's Offices, Refectory, Dormitories, with all other necessities, and all the buildings standing within the enclosure of the Curia, as well as the walls thereof.

He also rebuilt and nearly finished the Church in seven years, the history of which has been completely given in my Architectural History of the Cathedral, and needs no further notice.

From these historical passages it appears that Lanfranc set out the plan of a complete Norman Benedictine Monastery, and finished the essential edifices. Evidence will be adduced, as we proceed, which shows that the present Cloister is on the site of Lanfranc's, and that the Dormitory and other buildings belong to his work. The nave and western transepts, in fact, stand precisely upon the Norman site, and retained Lanfranc's north-western tower until 1825, or later.

The next recorded event is the elongation of the eastern part of the Cathedral, the work of Anselm, Ernulf, and Conrad, between 1096 and 1110, which is fully detailed in my Architectural History; this was dedicated in 1130.

About twenty years later, the monastery obtained the grant of a source of pure water, situated in a field now called the Holmes, about three-quarters of a mile north-east of the central tower of the cathedral. The charter (given in the Appendix, No. II.) is in the names of Archbishop Theobald and Walter, Bishop of Rochester, and therefore dated between 1148 and 1162. From this source the water was conveyed to the priory of Christchurch, and distributed to all the offices in the

court thereof, by a system of pipes of lead and cisterns devised and carried out by Prior Wibert, who took office in 1153, having been previously sub-prior, and died in 1167. The springs have continued to supply the convent from the first construction of the system to the present time, namely, through seven centuries. The pipes and cisterns have necessarily been changed, as the alterations in the buildings, consequent upon the dissolution of the priory, and the conversion of them into separate residences, compelled the ancient distribution into lavatories and receptacles adapted to the regular common life of the monks, to be exchanged for the form of supply employed in towns.

It is to the first introduction of this complete system of waterworks into the convent that we owe the Norman drawing, which is lithographed to accompany this Memoir, (Plate 1,) and which was first engraved by the Society of Antiquaries, in the second volume of the 'Vetusta Monumenta,' in 1755, and is a most valuable authority for the arrangement of the conventual buildings of that period.

This is a bird's-eye view of the entire convent, drawn in accordance with the artistic methods of the time, and exhibiting the cathedral and monastic offices, viewed from the north. The water-courses are minutely shewn, with all their arrangements from the source to the convent, and its distribution to the monastic offices, supplying lavatories, cisterns, fish-ponds, etc., and finally flowing, in conjunction with the rain-water from the roofs and the sewerage of the convent, into the town ditch. As the drawing was probably made after the system was completed, we may for convenience assume its date at 1165, two years before the death of Wibert, and five years before the murder of Becket.

In the Appendix (No. I.) I have analysed the peculiarities of this drawing, and the smaller one which accom-

panies it, (Fig. 33,) and have endeavoured to shew that although their age may be really the same as that of the manuscript volume in which they are now bound, they have in reality no common origin with it. The MS. is an illuminated Psalter. The great drawing was originally much wider and longer. It is intruded into a space near the end of the MS., where several of the original pages are missing, and which it has been cruelly pared down to fit. The second drawing has suffered in the same manner. I conclude that both the drawings were made by the hydraulic engineers who carried out the mechanism and system of the water-supply, and that the representations of the buildings of the convent were inserted solely to receive the plans of the pipes, receptacles, and sewers; and I have endeavoured in the Appendix to shew, from the nature of the liberties taken with the proportions and details of the structures, that this was the case.

Referring to Chapter X. for a detailed explanation of the water-works, I will now proceed to describe the Norman monastery, and the changes it has undergone from its foundation to the present time, employing the Norman drawing¹ as evidence of the general condition and boundaries of the convent in the twelfth century, and of the use of various minor parts of the buildings, explained by its inscriptions.

The first engraving of the Norman drawing purports to be of the same size as the original. It is in several parts inaccurate, and is deficient in character and style. It was therefore thought desirable to prepare a new

¹ The great Norman drawing has been inserted in several works, since its first publication in the '*Vetusta Monumenta*,' in 1755. A reduced copy of that engraving appeared in Hasted's '*History of Kent*,' in 1778; another in Lenoir's '*Architecture Monastique*' (4to, Par. 1852); and lately this reduction has been reproduced by Mr. Walcott, in the *Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects* for 1863; but these copies have never been collated with the original drawing, for they all faithfully reproduce the errors and omissions of the copy of 1755.

copy for the present memoir, from a tracing made by myself from the original manuscript; and for its illustration I have drawn the plan (Plate 2) of the monastery, containing those buildings only of which Norman walls exist, or have existed in my memory, and those which, although subsequently rebuilt in the middle ages, are manifestly placed on the site of Norman buildings, indicated in the Norman plan.

The coincidence of my plan with the latter is in all essential points so complete that the general accuracy of the old artist is confirmed, while the comparison of the two will enable us thoroughly to understand the conventional method employed by him and his contemporaries in their delineations.

I have also given a second plan, on the same scale (Plate 3), of the remains of the conventual buildings in the present century, prepared by myself from notes and personal surveys, the results of repeated visits to the Cathedral from the year 1840 to the present time.

CHAP. II.

HISTORY OF SITE.

The site of the Priory in the twelfth century, as represented in the Norman drawing and in Plate 2, was bounded on the south by the wall of the interior and exterior cemeteries, near the west end of the latter of which is the old entrance-gate; on the west, by a wall not contained in the Norman plan, bounding that cemetery as far as the end of the nave; and from the north-west tower, by the party-wall which divides the convent grounds from those of the Archbishop's palace. The latter is bounded northwards by a wall, on the north of which is the way from the city to the *Porta Curiae*, or Green-court Gate, which has the Almonry for its north boundary. The west wall of the convent continues its

northern course to the end of the *Aula nova*, or North Hall, about forty feet short of the city wall; it then turns eastward, runs parallel to the city wall as far as the end of the Green court; and then turns southward for 150 feet, where it resumes its eastward course until it approaches the city wall within 55 feet; and then, bending at an obtuse angle, it runs southward till it joins the eastern end of the wall whence we started.

The convent boundary at the dissolution of the monastery in 1541, (the same, with a slight exception on the west,¹ as the present cathedral precinct,) had been in the course of time considerably expanded by successive acquisitions beyond its Norman limits on all sides but the west, where the Archbishop's ground offered an impregnable barrier; so that on the south this precinct was limited by Burgate Street, and on the east and north by the city wall and ditch.

The gradual acquirement of the lands which lie between the Norman boundary of the convent and the present one is minutely detailed by Somner and his copyists; but as my principal purpose is to detail the remains and arrangements of the buildings for the illustration of architectural styles and monastic history, I shall simply and concisely state the leading points of that acquirement, referring my readers to the preceding authors for particulars.

I must begin by observing that within the city walls which now form the north and east boundaries of the precinct, extending from Northgate to Burgate, there was in the old time a town lane termed Queningate Lane, which led from one of those gates to the other; for in walled cities it was usual to lay down a continuous

¹ The Archbishop's boundary line was altered at the dissolution of the convent by the retention by the king of the sites and materials of the Celerer's Hall and Lodgings, and the subsequent grant of their sites to the Archbishop, as explained below.

road or lane along the inside of the wall, so as to give a free circulation for the defenders in case of assault. In peaceful intervals this passage was apt to be encroached upon by houses or gardens, and in later times portions of such lanes have been appropriated, so as to destroy the continuity of the circuit, which was rendered no longer necessary by the changes in military tactics. But in all our ancient walled towns portions of this inner circumscribing lane can be traced.

The modern plans of Canterbury shew this free access along the inside of the city wall all round, with the sole exception of that part of the city wall which bounds the priory of Christchurch. Queningate Lane once supplied this missing portion, which was absorbed by the influence of the priory, but which was not obtained without litigation, as appears from Somner's notes (p. 103). This lane lined the wall between two principal gates of the city, Northgate and Burgate, each terminating principal streets. Between these gates the wall contained a postern or "little gate called Quyningate," placed opposite to the great gate of St. Augustine's monastery, from which it is distant about a hundred yards. As this lane had no city street directly leading up to it, because the priory ground occupied the angle between the two principal streets just mentioned, it supplied the only pathway access to Queningate from the town, and manifestly derived its name from that fact.

The position of Queningate is fixed by the wall-measurer's survey, made in the third year of Henry IV., which gives the distance "from the little gate called Quyningate unto Burgate xxxviii perches and from the gate Northgate to Quyningate lxi perches." (Somner, 8.)

The part of this lane which led from Northgate to Queningate, with the adjacent ground between the city wall and priory wall, was granted to the church in the

time of Henry II., after the date of the Norman drawing; and it appears that the monks stopped the public access along this lane to Queningate, leaving them only the way from Burgate to that postern. This led to a litigation between the citizens and the monks in 1305, in which the monks were victorious, and were further confirmed in their exclusive right to the road by a charter of Henry IV. (1399-1413), in which he grants them "the way within the city wall which did formerly lead from Northgate to Queningate."

Apparently as a consequence of this grant, I find that the city wall "from Northgate to Quenagate, with four towers leaded," was rebuilt by Prior Chillenden (1390-1411),¹ as appears by the list of his works. But Archbishop Courtney, his contemporary, contributed £266. 13s. 4d. to this work.

The ground, since known as the Convent Garden, between the rest of the lane from Queningate to Burgate and the ancient cemetery wall on the west, was obtained in parcels between 1287 and 1368; but the lane itself was not acquired until the first year of Richard III. (1483), when it, together with the postern and bridge, was granted to the church by Act of Parliament. By a composition between the church and the city, made anno 7 Hen. VII. (1491), the church becomes ever after quietly confirmed in the possession not only of the ground within the wall, but of the whole wall and towers from Northgate to Burgate; and the city wall, which, as just mentioned, had been rebuilt by Chillenden as far as Queningate, was completed from thence to Burgate by Prior Selling (1472-94).² The former

¹ "Clausura murorum de Northgate usque ad Quenagate cum iiij Turribus plumbatis." (Chillenden's list, Appendix, No. VI. sect. 31.)

² "Murum, qui ab Ecc. S. Michaelis usque ad veterem murum hortum conventus claudentem se protendit, construxit." (Obituarium ap. Ang. Sac. 145.)

portion is characterized by four square towers, the latter by two semicircular ones, as the plan (Plate 3) shews.

Thus the townsfolk were finally excluded from Queningate Lane and the postern.

Prior Selling's part of the wall is described in the obituary as extending from the church of St. Michael¹ (of Burgate) to the old wall which encloses the convent garden. It is evident that the portion of old wall which is shewn in plan, Plate 3 (at 5, 5), is the north wall of the convent garden, referred to in the above passage.

The south end of old Queningate Lane still remains at (106) in the plan, close to the site of the old Burgate.

The ground between the south Norman boundary and Burgate Street, with the shops there, was gradually obtained in the reign of Edward I.

The Norman drawing exhibits, with singular accuracy, the peculiar irregularity of the boundary line between the convent and Archbishop. This is produced by the position of two buildings labelled *Cellarium* and *Aula Hospitum* in the Norman drawing, but termed in Chillenden's list (Appendix No. VI., 22 and 23) *camera celerarii* and *aula celerarii* respectively, and in a passage of the sixteenth century, quoted below, the *sellerer's lodgings* and the *sellerer's hall*. In the drawing the east wall of the *Aula Hospitum* coincides with the line of the west wall of the *Curia*, so as to set back the boundary-line westward with a sudden transfer through a distance equal to its breadth. At the south end of this *Aula* its gable wall not only stands on the convent ground, but the boundary wall between the convent and the Archbishop is manifestly carried further westward than the west end of the hall gable, exactly in the present condition of the site, producing the awkward-looking angle at that spot (Plate 3, 63), which I have carefully planned.

¹ This church stood on the north side, just within the gate joining to Burgate (according to Battely, 176).

This fully accounts for the present state of the west boundary of the area of the conventual grounds, in which between the old south wall of the celerer's hall and the north end of the celerer's lodgings the boundary suddenly juts out westward.

The reason of the present exclusion of these two conventual buildings from the ancient site, and their transfer to the palace ground, we learn from a passage in the Act of Incorporation of the Metropolitan and Cathedral Church of Canterbury by King Henry VIII.,¹ in which, when granting to the members of that body the site and buildings, he especially excepts and reserves to himself and his successors the houses commonly called "the *sellerer's lodginge* and the *sellerer's hall*."² They were afterwards granted to the Archbishop, and thus became attached to the palace ground, as now they remain.

CHAP. III.

GENERAL ARRANGEMENT.

The arrangement of this monastery is admirably systematic, and well adapted to its purposes.

Taking the great church as the nucleus of the whole, the south side of the site, between the church and city, not extending eastward beyond the church, was appropriated to the burial of the laity, and termed the Outer Cemetery. The space from the east part of the church, and east boundary of that cemetery, to the east wall of the site was appropriated to the burial of the monks, and termed the Inner Cemetery. In contact with or near to the north side of the church and cemetery is a group of buildings, courts and cloisters, devoted to the *Monastic life*.

Outside of these, on their west and east borders, are

¹ Dated Ap. 8, 32 H. VIII. A.D. 1541; Harl. MSS. 1197. f. 347; or Ellis's 'Monasticon.'

² "Nuper vocat. vulgariter, the sellerer's lodginge and the sellerer's hall."

nalls and chambers devoted to the exercise of *Hospitality*, with which every monastery was provided, for the purpose of receiving as guests persons who visited it, whether clergy or laity, travellers, pilgrims, or paupers.

On the north of the compact group thus described is a large open court, the *Curia*, entrance court, or Green Court, which separates the monastic buildings from the *Menial buildings*—the stables, granaries, barn, bakehouse, brewhouse, laundries, etc.—inhabited by the lay servants of the establishment. These are placed remote from the former edifices. A great hall, *Aula Nova*, the paupers' Hospitium, occupies the north-west corner of the court; and, finally, on the outside of this, beyond the precinct of the convent, is the *Almonry*, for the relief of the poor, at the greatest possible distance from the church. The outer gate of the convent is at the south end of this hall.¹

Having thus divided the buildings under the four heads, Monastic, Hospitane, Menial, and Eleemosynary, we may now enumerate the several buildings of these groups, and their arrangement, in general terms, previously to detailing the actual structures and their architectural vicissitudes (*vide* Plates 2 and 3).

First, for the buildings close to the north side of the church, which I have said were appropriated to the Monastic life. This life, in the intervals between church services, feeding and sleeping, was spent in the great Cloister, secluded from the world, in meditation, reading, writing, or teaching. Hence the Cloister itself is bounded by the buildings which minister to those purposes. It is fitted up with seats and private studies, and has the church

¹ These general principles of arrangement are applicable to all Benedictine monasteries, excepting that the nature of the site sometimes occasions the plan to be reversed with respect to the church, by placing the buildings on the south, and the cemeteries on the north, or introduces other changes which are readily intelligible in the cases where they occur, as, for example, at Durham and Worcester. *Vide Arch. Journal*, vol. xx. p. 257.

walls on the south and east, the Dormitory and Chapter-house also on the east, and the Refectory or Frater on the north, all provided with doors of entrance from the cloister walks. The Dormitory and Refectory are raised upon sub-vaults. A passage through those at the south end of the Dormitory leads to the smaller or Infirmary cloister, which has the Dormitory for its west border, cloister alleys for its north and south borders, and the Infirmary for its east boundary. The Infirmary Hall and Chapel extend eastward beyond this cloister.

Thus this second cloister separates the Infirmary, which is appropriated to the sick and infirm monks, from the healthy and active members of the community, whose daily life was spent, as above said, in the great Cloister and its surrounding buildings, and also furnishes a covered way from that Cloister to the Infirmary. Indeed, convenient covered passages and entrances are contrived from each of the especial places that constitute the group under consideration, to all the others of the group. But access from the great Court is scantily provided and carefully guarded.¹

The buildings thus described are concealed from public observation by the great church on the south. Northward lies the Green Court; but from this aspect they are skilfully sheltered, neither can the monks themselves observe persons in that court. The north walk of their cloister is covered by the Refectory and Butteries, and these again by the Kitchen, its court and offices, and by the Pentise gatehouse and Chillenden's Chambers. The north gable-wall of the

¹ Archbishop Winchelsey enjoins: "All doors to remain closed that lead from the *Curia*, or from the *Palace*, towards the *Cloister*, excepting those from the *Cellerarium*, the *Camera Prioris*, and others, which must necessarily remain open but must be carefully guarded against the entrance of women, as must also the *Aula Hospitum* and *Parlitorium*, and all the offices and houses of the exterior *Curia*." (C. 13, Winchelsey's Statutes, A.D. 1298.)

Dormitory does indeed extend to the Green Court; but the windows are placed so high above its floor that no person within it could see what was passing in that court. From the Dormitory eastward, the Necessarium of the monastery, with the Prior's gate-tower, Study, and Gloriet, extend 174 feet in length, so as to mask altogether the Infirmary cloister. The gate-tower provides the only direct access to this cloister from the Green Court, and, with the exception of the Pentise gatehouse, is the only building of the monastic group which has a window directly looking into that court, evidently provided to enable the Prior to observe it at his pleasure, as his duty was. The high wall and gates complete the south boundary of the court eastward. Another high wall appears to have connected the Larder-gate with the west tower of the Necessarium.

It appears thus that the seclusion from the world of the edifices devoted to the monastic life was complete. The monks within and the persons in the court without were alike unable to observe each other.

The Hospitate buildings of a monastery were erected in different parts of the convent ground, according to the profession or quality of the guests.

For example, the plan of the monastery of St. Gall¹ shews three hospitia—one for the reception of distinguished guests, another for poor travellers and pilgrims, and a third for monks visiting the monastery.

The first and second are placed to the right and left of the common entrance to the monastery, the former being on the same side of the church as the Abbot's house, and latter on the cloister side next to the farm buildings. The stranger monks are lodged against the side aisle of the church near the Abbot.

Each of the two Hospitia assigned to the two classes

¹ *Vide* my description of it, 'Archæological Journal,' June, 1848, vol. v. p. 85.

of the laity is a complete residence, suited to the habits of each, the first with a dining-hall, bedrooms, each containing several beds; also stables and servants' rooms, and a separate building with kitchen, bakehouse, brew-house, and store-room. The second, for the lower orders, has a large room in the centre with a dormitory at each end, and rooms for servants who waited on the pilgrims. A *camera* or sitting-room is also provided, and a *cellarium*, a bakehouse, and brewhouse.

The stranger monks were qualified to eat in the refectory with the brethren; they are only provided with a sitting-room and a dormitory.

The Hospitate buildings are represented at Canterbury in the Norman drawing, in the first place, by the *Camera Vetus Prioris* and *Nova Camera Prioris* on the east and south of the monastic group. These, which were apparently devoted to the reception of the most distinguished guests, who were assigned to the Prior, were greatly enlarged in the later times, occupying the ground surrounding their ancient sites, and extending along the eastern boundary of the Green Court. In the next place, on the western side of the site, completely separated from the Prior's group by the intervention of the entire mass of monastic buildings, we find the Celerer's hall and lodgings, in the neighbourhood of the convent kitchen and butteries, employed for the reception of the guests under his especial charge, and approached by an especial gatehouse. Lastly, in the north-west corner of the Green Court, in contact with the outer gate, is the great Hall, termed *Aula Nova*, which, although its purpose has never been exactly recorded, was, judging by other examples, the Hospitium of the paupers and lower class of pilgrims.

Beyond this hall, on the outside of the precinct, was the Almonry-yard, where the broken meat and other alms were daily delivered to the poor.

The Hospitia in the monastery we are examining at Canterbury are all in the form of long ranges of building. No records remain to indicate the exact original distribution of the apartments; but it is well known that in the middle ages travellers were content to sleep in chambers containing many beds, and to rest in the day in long galleries, in which there was space to walk to and fro for exercise and conversation. For private converse, these galleries had one or more recesses in their sides. Haddon Hall and Queen's College, Cambridge, retain such galleries, of which indeed many other examples remain. The garden towers and oriels of the Deanery furnished such recesses in the original form of the "New Lodgyng," and the tower which projects from the north face of Chillenden's Chambers, and the oriels of the house termed Meist' Homers are also examples; for in all these structures it is probable that the length of the building had very few transverse partitions. The high-pitched roof of Chillenden's building was adapted for a dormitory or gallery, and the same may be said of the roofs of the Cheker building and of the Deanery.

The Menial buildings have been already enumerated (p. 12, above).

Thus far I have described the general disposition, as explained by the inscriptions on the Norman drawing. I will now consider the buildings in their actual condition, or rather in the various conditions they have passed through, since I first became acquainted with them; comparing them with the records, to develop the successive changes they have undergone through the periods of reverent care and improvement during the middle ages, of the neglect, destruction, and cupidity of the Reformation and Rebellion, and of the meddling ignorance and indifference of the times approaching our own.

CHAP. IV.

BUILDINGS BELONGING TO THE MONASTIC LIFE.

1. *The Chapter-House.*

Beginning with the great Cloister, we find between the gable-wall of the north transept and the Chapter-house a narrow passage or slype (Plate 2, 37), which, when Lanfranc's short east end of the church was standing, led, as usual, directly into the cemetery of the monks at the east of his apse.

The Norman chapter-house was, as will appear below, rebuilt in later times, and the present one is manifestly shewn, by the mode of its junction with the small Norman cloister (O, P, Fig. 5, page 48, below) to project further eastward than the original one, which is represented in the Norman drawing by a mere gable-wall rising above the Cloister roof, and furnished with a row of four windows like those of the Dormitory, of which this gable-wall is the continuation. As no roof extending eastward from this gable is shewn, the building, were other evidence wanting, might from this alone be pronounced to have been a short one.

The passage from the Dormitory to the church for the nocturnal services was probably provided by a door into the chapter-house, in the party-wall of the two buildings, at such a height that it would admit the monks into a gallery constructed in the thickness of the west gable-wall of the chapter-house over the doorway, and conduct them by an opposite door into the structure shewn in the Norman drawing. This appears to represent the side wall of a sloping ascent, erected against the west wall of the transept, and roofed, leading upwards in continuation of the passage, over the Cloister roof, and consequently landing the monks on the pavement of the upper chapel of the north transept,

dedicated to St. Blaise, which was on a higher level than the Cloister roof. The vault which carried the floor of this chapel was pulled down after the murder of Becket, to enable the altar of his martyrdom to appear to advantage,¹ but was standing when the drawing was made. Possibly the roof of the Chapter-house was pyramidal, and the small triangle with three windows would represent a dormer.

The documentary history of the Chapter-house is contained in the two passages which follow—the first, from the list of the works of Prior De Estria, (App. No. V.) mentions a “repair of the Chapter-house with two new gable-walls, A.D. 1304–5,”²—the second, from Chillenden’s list (Appendix No. VI.), records the “completion of the new Chapter-house.”³ The allusion below (p. 46) to the dangerous state of the Chapter-house in the document of 1397, from my Arch. Hist. p. 118, shews that this latter repair took place after that date.⁴

The Chapter-house itself fully confirms the written history. It is an oblong room, extending without a vestibule from the Cloister wall eastward, ninety feet in length and thirty-five feet in breadth.⁵ Its lateral walls are lined with a simple arcade, supported on single shafts which rest on a bench table, and composed of pointed trefoil arches surmounted by a rich battlemented cornice. The east end has a canopied throne in the centre and an arcade of richer character on each side, the arches being provided with triangular canopies. The moldings and form of these arches are the same as those of the lateral ones, but instead of simple shafts they are

¹ Arch. Hist. of Cant. Cath. p. 41.

² (21) “Anno 1304 et quinto . . . Reparacio capituli cum duobus novis gabulis . . .”

³ (20) “1390 to 1411 . . . Nova domus capitularis completa . . .”

⁴ The obituary, Ang. Sacra 143, also mentions the ‘Domum Capitularem’ amongst the works of this Prior.

⁵ The Bristol chapter-house measures 43 by 25 feet.

separated by pinnaced piers.¹ The whole of this lower story is the work of Prior De Estria, and most valuable from the specific date of 1304 and following year. The north wall, being the south wall of the Dormitory, occupies the same position as the Norman one. The south wall is also apparently in its old place. But these walls are extended farther eastward than before, as their construction and the intrusion of the northern one upon the Norman cloister plainly shews.² The eastern gable was therefore new from the foundation, and the Norman western gable must have been entirely removed, to allow of the construction of the great geometrical window, which, in accordance with the prevailing style, would occupy the western front. The two new gable-walls attributed to De Estria are thus accounted for.

Chillenden's repair includes all the present windows and the roof. Above the battlemented cornice of the stalls the lateral walls have four Perpendicular windows on each side, separated by a group of vault-shafts apparently derived from the original work. The windows are large and lofty, of four lights; the tracery of the same pattern as those of the side aisle of the nave. The north windows are mere blank panels, for the masonry on that side is a mere lining of the great south wall of the Dormitory, which rises considerably higher than the wall plates of the Chapter-house roof, and has Perpendicular windows inserted in it above the wall-plate to light the Dormitory. Thus glazed windows on the north side of this house were impossible, but the south windows were all glazed, but are now bricked up and plastered so as to represent panelling.

The east and west windows are alike in pattern, and of seven lights. The pattern of the tracery is by the

¹ *Vide* Britton, pl. xv., interior looking east, and pl. xxvi., elevation of lateral arcade. Pl. iv. shows the central door and lateral triple arcade.

² *Vide* Fig. 5, p. 48, at O, P.

same artist who designed the lateral windows and the similar side-aisle windows of the nave. But his seven-light design is not repeated in any of the great windows of the cathedral.

The Chapter-house is covered by a simple wooden ceiling disposed in the form of a waggon vault, the transverse section of which is an irregular semipolygon of seven sides covered with a panel-work of ribs, well exhibited in Britton's plates.

The history of the Chapter-house after the Reformation is given by Gostling¹ as follows, slightly abridged :—

“ When the numerous fraternity of monks was replaced by a Dean and twelve Prebendaries, the chapter-house, being too large for chapter business, was fitted up for a sermon-house, with pulpit, pews, and galleries, so early that the chief gallery, with lattised casements (the royal closet, when the King or Queen should be here), is dated 1544 (36 Hen. VIII.). This was its use for many years. After prayers in the choir, the congregation was to come hither to hear the preacher ; but this occasioned so much inconvenience that at last it was given up, and the whole service performed in the choir. It was afterwards employed as a chapel for the daily early morning prayers.”

When the building was converted into a sermon-house, doors were broken into it, which are shewn in the plans given by Johnson² and Dart. In the passage from the Dormitory to the Prior's chapel or Library there are two of these doors—one (*r*, fig. 6) leading through a passage in the wall, apparently to the royal gallery, the other (*p*) by a descending staircase to the door in the east wall of the Chapter-house, marked *o* in Fig. 6, and 13 in Fig. 5.

“ One of the stalls (or arcade arches) at the north-east corner, and another near the pulpit, have had doors cut through them, probably on the room being converted to a sermon-house, and the building seems to have suffered by breaking these doors

¹ Ed. 1777, page 197.

² Engraved by Hollar for Dugdale, and also employed by Battely.

into it, especially at the north-east corner, where a crack in the walls appears to be owing to the opening of a door on each side of that corner, and too near it.”¹

A passage was also made across the slype between the Lady chapel and the Chapter-house by breaking doors through the walls of these buildings.

In Johnson's plan the Chapter-house is labelled “old chapter-house now used for sermons;”² and on the north side a row of small pillars are indicated near the wall which seem to have supported the gallery mentioned by Gostling. Another such gallery is indicated at the west end by a row of four pillars. The place of the pulpit is not shewn.

2. *The Dormitory.*

The Dormitory, or “great dortor” as it was called, was, from its form, unavailable for conversion into dwellings for the officers and members of the new chapter, at the Dissolution. Accordingly, Somner notes that the Chapter, in 1547, decreed that “ye great dortor shall bee taken downe and with y^e stuffe thereof coming to be builded certaine lodgings for y^e Pety canons and vicars, and other houses of office to them by y^e discretion of y^e Prebendaries.” But in the year following it was decreed “that of the leade that should be taken downe from the great Dortor Mr. Deane to have twoe foder and everye Prebend to have one foder.” It stood upon a substructure of low vaults, as usual, which were divided into portions by walls, and appropriated to various monastic offices. This substructure was not destroyed. But the walls that rose above it and enclosed the Dormitory itself were partially or totally taken down, to nearly the level of the floor, all round, excepting at the south end, which was bounded by the

¹ Gostling, ed. *ut sup.* pp. 195 and 198.

² “*Domus olim capitularis, hodie ad conciones.*”

party-wall of the Chapter-house. Two private houses were built upon the vaults, with gardens and court-yards, and a road or path enclosed on the east side of the area, which led from the larder-gate to the door of the gallery, by which the monks went from the dormitory to the church. This road has been used as a convenient passage to church by the inhabitants of the Cathedral Precinct up to the present time, but will for the future be the way to the new Library, now built at the south end of the Dormitory site. It is reached by a flight of stone steps, which leads from the Larder-gate to the level of the old Dormitory floor.

The houses were pulled down in the middle of the last century, as Gostling informs us,¹ and some of the vaults filled with rubbish. Others had been used as cellars for the houses, and their pillars strengthened with red brick casings. The whole site (excepting the road to the church) was then assigned as an additional garden to the seventh prebendary, whose allotment is on the site of the old Refectory, on the west side of the Dormitory wall.

I may mention that some fifteen years ago, an excavation at the north-west corner of this Dormitory garden led to the discovery of some of the shafts and vault-spandrels of the substructure. Subsequently (in 1860) the ancient Norman door in the Cloister (Plate 3, 52) was opened, and it then appeared that the vaults in that part were perfect, but completely filled with earth and rubbish, as Gostling had recorded. One or two of these compartments were emptied at that time, and regarded and preserved as venerable remains of the first Norman founder. The vaults were of the earliest kind, constructed of light tufa, having no transverse ribs, and retaining the impressions of the rough boarded centring upon which they had been formed.

¹ P. 179.

Thus matters stood until the year 1867, when the chapter determined to build a new Library on the southern part of the Dormitory site. The accumulated rubbish of the gardens over the part selected was completely removed, and unfortunately no attempt made to preserve any portion of the above described rare and valuable example of the earliest form of Norman vaulting, with the exception of two or three of the pillars on which the vaults rested.

There is sufficient evidence to shew that the substructure of this vast hall, 148 feet long and 78 feet wide above, was divided into two equal portions by a longitudinal wall that rose to the level of the floor, and supported a series of piers and arches that divided the hall into two naves of equal breadth.¹ These were covered with two equal and similar roofs. The Norman drawing shews these parallel roofs, after the manner of the artist, but yet unmistakeably. The two gables are seen at the north end of the building. Also along the length of the roof its double ridge is indicated, each terminating at the north and south ends with a ball at the apex. The lead plating of the near roof is distinguished from that of the far roof by drawing their sloping lead-seams in opposite directions.²

The high southern wall, which still rises to the level of the Chapter-house roof, retains the lower portion of two large Perpendicular windows, of three lights each, the work of Prior Chillenden,³ respectively placed at the end of one of the two great naves. The windows

¹ The breadth of each, being 37 feet, is equal to one-fourth of its length. The width of Conrad's choir is 40 feet.

² Viollet le Duc, in his 'Dictionary,' states that the Dormitories of monasteries were commonly divided into two portions by a row of pillars or arches.

³ Mentioned in his list thus:—"Repair of the dormitory, with a new leaded roof and new windows, and with many beds." (9.) "*Reparacio dormitorii cum novo tecto plumbato et novis fenestris et pluribus lectis.*"

are not precisely opposite to the middle of the naves, but, in both cases, nearer to the division wall than the outer wall by about one-fifth of the breadth of the nave.¹ This irregularity has reference to the disposition of the cells on the floor of the Dormitory. These windows—one in each gable—rose much higher than at present, for they derived their light from above the roof of the Chapter-house. But, like many Late Perpendicular windows, the tracery was continued downwards in panel-work, so that the panelled wall being set back to the plane of the tracery, the light from those lofty windows was able to reach the floor below more freely than if the sill had been at the level of the lowest panes of glass.

It happened, in 1846, that the vaults which covered the passage, or “dark entry,”² which is formed in the substructure of the Dormitory next the Chapter-house, to lead from the great Cloister (at 50, Pl. 3) to the Infirmary cloister, were removed, and the passage laid open to the sky. The garden earth above it having been consequently also cleared away, the lower portion of a Norman respond, with shaft and base, was found in the centre of the wall that contains the windows already described, and

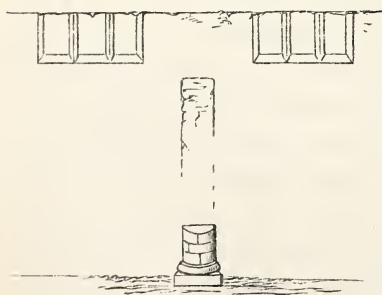


Fig. 1.

standing at the level of the floor of the great hall. I owe the knowledge of this fact to the kindness of Mr. Rouch, who immediately communicated to me the discovery, accompanied by the slight sketch (Fig. 1) engraved in the margin. This is

¹ Each nave is thirty-seven feet in width, and the centre of the window is twenty-two feet from the outward wall and fifteen feet from the division wall.

² This entry is termed a *Locutorium* in the Norman drawing.

conclusive evidence to the existence of a series of pier arches dividing the two naves. Above it was seen the insertion of the wall that rested on the arches. These traces were afterwards obliterated by a great buttress, erected for the support of the Chapter-house wall.

The substructure has been so interfered with and obstructed by earth and building work that its internal subdivisions cannot be ascertained. It was doubtless, in addition to its division into two parallel portions by the middle wall, also subdivided by transverse walls, and doors or openings made in these walls.

Each of the two portions of this substructure had two ranges of columns to carry the vaults. Thus the plan of the whole is divided transversely into six aisles, and longitudinally these are divided into eleven; making in all sixty-six square compartments, as shewn in Plate 3.

But of these the six at the south end were appropriated to the passage, mentioned above, which leads from the great Cloister (at 50) to the Infirmary cloister, and is enclosed on the north side by walls which completely fill up the arches. This passage was provided with a doorway at each end, and has remained in use to the present time.

The space now occupied by the new library, on the north side of the passage wall, extends forty-five feet, including rather more than three ranges of vaults. On the Cloister side the wall which bounds the first of these from the south (Plate 3, 51) appears blank, and merely lined with Chillenden's ashlar. But, on the inside of the wall, when laid bare last year, the jambs and sill of an opening eight feet wide were distinctly seen, the crown of its arch sloping upwards from the Dormitory towards the Cloister, whose roof was higher than the Dormitory vaults. The Norman drawing, which shews the arched door of the passage to the small cloister, places on the left of it, in the compartment we are now considering, a window of two arches, with a central

pillar, labelled *Fenestra ferrea*, because it is provided with an iron grating. The width of the above-mentioned opening at the back shewed that it may have had a central shaft next the Cloister, as in the drawing. The whole of this opening has been walled up and obliterated, to strengthen the Cloister wall upon which the west gable of the new Library rests.

In the next severey of the Cloister (Plate 3, 52) we find a Norman doorway of the simplest type, but with zigzag work and carved capitals, in the style of the Treasury and Infirmary chapel. This is also shewn in the Norman drawing, and labelled *Hostium ferreum*. It is pleasant to see, that, although the rest of the Cloister walls were plated with subsequent layers of succeeding architecture, this solitary portal of the early founders' works was allowed to remain undisturbed for nearly five centuries, doubtless from respect to their memory; for it is clear that the doorway must have remained in use, as an entrance to the Dormitory, so long as the monastic system was in action. But after the dissolution, when houses were built on this site and the vaults filled with earth or converted into private cellars, this doorway was walled up, and, as Storer informs us, its architecture concealed under a smooth surface of plaster.¹

¹ The frontispiece of Storer's 'Cathedrals' is a view of this Norman doorway, which he describes as follows:—

"It represents the shattered remains of a most admirably sculptured Saxon archway leading to the great dormitory, which was safely preserved under a coat of mortar, during several centuries, till August, 1813, when it was determined to open the place; but, unfortunately, the execution of this laudable design was entrusted to a rude mechanic, whose sacrilegious hands, with a few desperate blows, soon broke in pieces one of the finest specimens of ancient art" (page ii).

His drawing shews the doorway in the condition it was brought to by the operation in question, which took place about the time when Storer's drawings of Canterbury were made. The capitals are wholly missing, and fragments of the southern carved shaft, with portions of broken voussoirs, are dispersed on the heap of rubbish. Its present state is therefore made up of these fragments, assisted by Roman cement.

In the Norman drawing this doorway is placed erroneously at a distance of two severies of the Cloister from the window, and for the exhibition of this door, that of the Locutory (Plate 3, 50), and the intermediate window, the draughtsman has cut away the leaden roof of the ambulatory above these particular archways, so as to exhibit them completely. This kind of liberty is even now taken in drawings which, like this, are intended more to explain contrivances and arrangements than to display the beauties of architecture.

On entering the Dormitory subvaults by this door, during the late preparations for the new Library, a block of rough masonry was seen on the north side against the wall. It was nine feet wide, and extended from the first respond shaft on the left-hand to the brick partition wall of the first allotment. It appears to have been the foundation of a flight of steps which led to the Dormitory floor above through an opening in the vaults; but as the latter have been completely destroyed in the late operations, it is impossible to discover the exact place of this opening. The floor of the subvaults was at the level of the Cloister pavement, and that of the Dormitory thirteen feet above it.

Opposite to the Norman door (Plate 3, 52), eastwards, an opening for passage through the central wall of the subvaults remains. It is probable that the space beyond, which faced the Herbarium, was appropriated to the "Common room." This was an essential part of every Benedictine monastery. It appears to have been always placed beneath the Dormitory, and had a fire kept in all the winter "for the monnckes to cume and warme them at," and always looked out upon a garden or green.¹ The jambs of a large window, seven feet wide, existed in the east wall (at 9, Fig. 5), immediately opposite the window in the west wall just described.²

¹ *Vide Arch. Journ.*, vols. v. p. 100; xx. p. 268.

² An arched Norman window was placed in the third compartment

Manifestly the Norman door served to give the monks entrance to the Cloister, as well from the Dormitory above as from the Common room, and the grated window gave light and air to the subvaults. In the Norman drawing (Plate 1) this grating is clearly shewn to have been composed of pieces resembling the letter C, set back to back in a manner not uncommon in early ironwork.

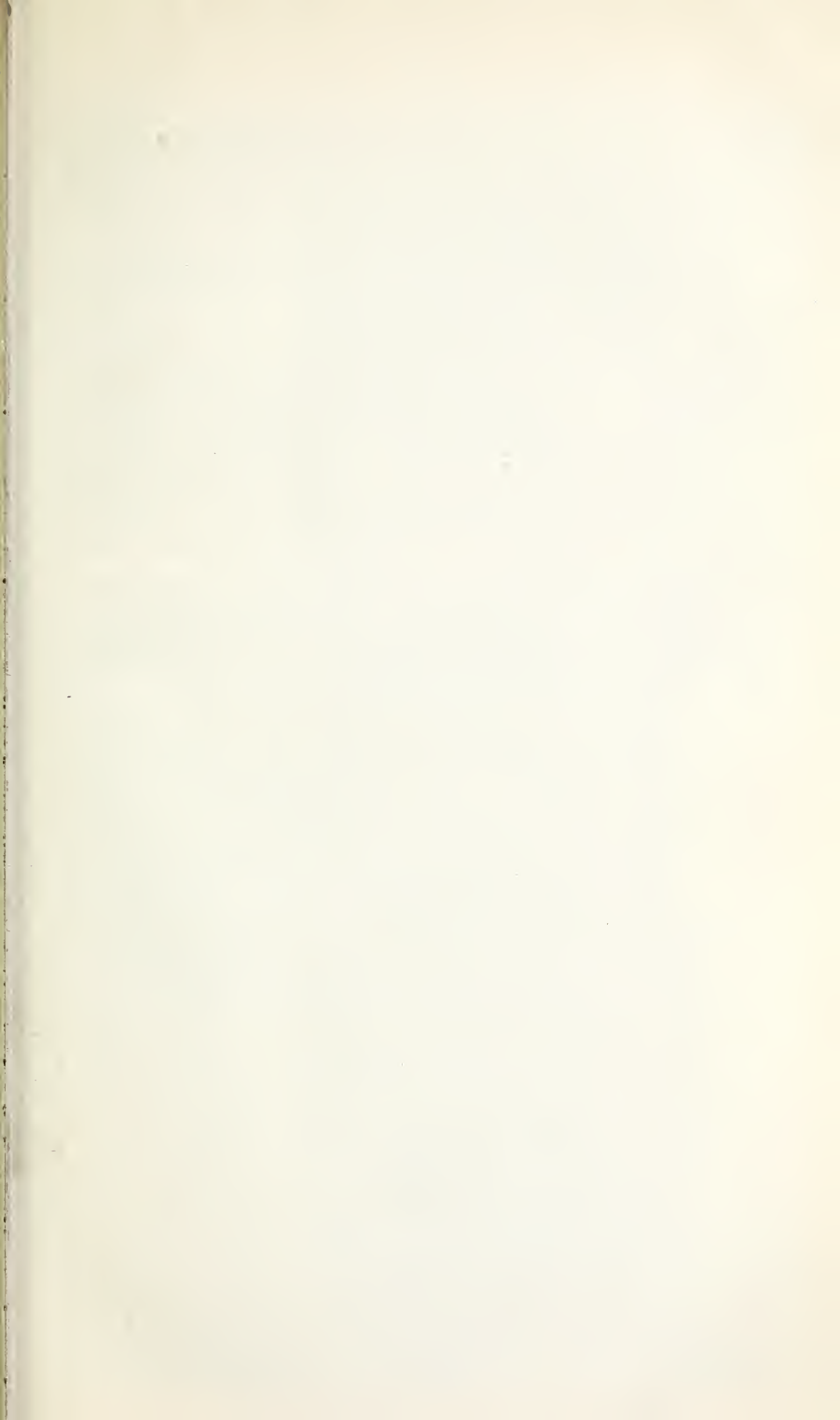
The doorway of the "Dark Entry" (Plate 3, 50) is, in the Norman drawing, plain, with iron hinges, and labelled *Hostium locutorii*. But this doorway is a little obscured by the drawing of the opening of an arch beneath the door, probably underground, through which the rain-water aqueduct enters under the passage. The inscription indicates that it was one of the places termed "parlors" or "locutories," in which the monks were permitted to hold intercourse and transact business with strangers.¹

The substructions of the remainder of the Dormitory northward of the new Library are for the most part completely filled with earth, with the exception of the vaults under part of the passage to the church on the east border, which were used for cellars to the house that stood there formerly.

Of the Dormitory above, little is known except its general structure, already described.

of the east wall (at 6), and openings that may have been windows or doors in the next two. A buttressing wall (8) projects seven feet or more from the wall into the herbarium, and shews on its south side the spring of a waggon vault, which may have carried the landing of an external staircase from the dormitory floor to the herbarium and infirmary cloister which led to the crypt of the cathedral. These details will be best understood by reference to the plan. The position of the fire-place did not appear. Since the above was written many of these particulars of the subvaults have been wholly covered up and obliterated by the lower part of the new east gable of the Library.

¹ At Durham as at Canterbury, the term "parloure" or "locutorium" is applied to a passage which leads from the cloister to the cemetery of the monks. (*Vide* 'Rites of Durham,' pp. 44, 59.)



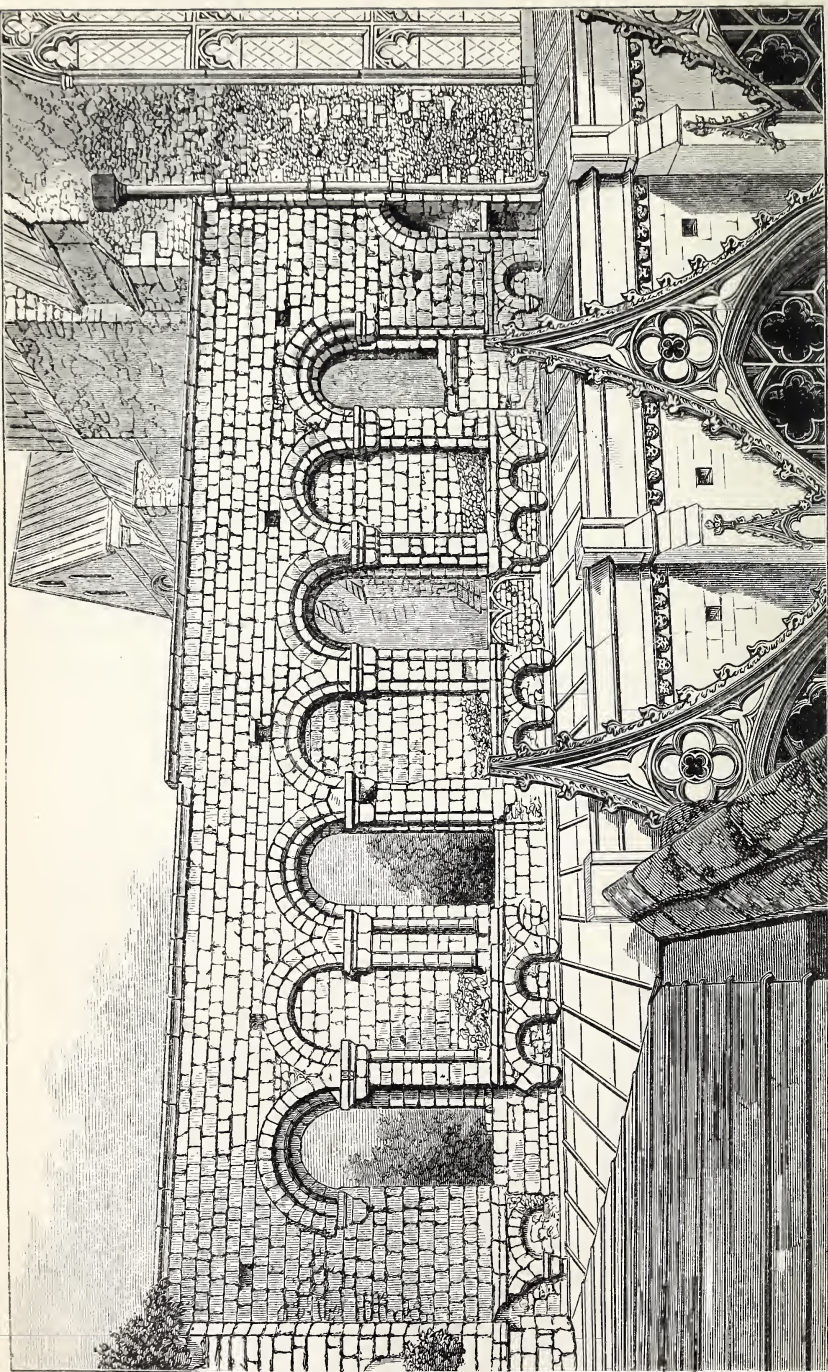


Fig. 2.—WALL OF THE DORMITORY ABOVE THE EAST ALLEY OF THE GREAT CLOISTER. (*From a Photograph.*)

On the western side, as far as the cloister extends, the high Dormitory wall still remains, with four of its original windows. It is shewn in Fig. 2, engraved from a photograph taken before the new Library gable was begun. On this side the wall has a continuous Norman arcade, the arches of which are alternately panels and windows. Between the tablet-mold that sustains this arcade and the cloister roof is a blank arcade of small arches.¹

The arrangements and furniture of the monastic dormitory in general are so well described in the following passage from the 'Rites of Durham' (p. 72), that I venture to quote it in this place:—

" There was a faire large house called the Dorter, where all the monnks and the novices did lye, every monncke having a litle chamber of wainscott, verie close, severall by themselves, and ther wyndowes towards the cloyster, every wyndowe servinge for one chambre, by reasonne the particion betwixt every chamber was close wainscotted one from another, and in every of there wyndowes a deske to supporte there bookes for there studdie. In the weste syde of the said dorter was the like chambers, and in like sorte placed, with there wyndowes and desks towards the Fermery and the water, the chambers beinge all well boarded under foute.

"The Novices had theire chambers severall by himselfe in the south end of the said dorter, adjoyning to the foresaid chambers, having eight chambers on each side, every Novice his chamber severall to himself, not so close nor so warme as the other chambers, nor having any light but what came in at the foreside of their chambers, beinge all close else both

¹ Mr. Faussett informs me that, upon examining these windows and the arcade below, he discovered that this tablet-mold is that which received the Norman shed-roof of the Cloister, the mark of which is plain here and in the same line along this whole east wall of the Cloister. In a place or two, tiles still remain on this line. The blank arcading below it was therefore, as he justly infers, inside the Cloister, just under the roof. On the west side over the Celerer's door, and so scuthward, the same mark remains at the same elevation, and many of the corbels on which the wall-plate of the roof rested. The Norman roof would necessarily be of a higher pitch than the present one.

above and on either side. In either end of the said Dorter was a four square stone, wherein was a dozen cressets wrought in either stone, being ever filled and supplied with the cooke as they needed, to give light to the monks and novices, when they rose to their mattins at midnight, and for their other necessary uses."

3. *Refectory and Kitchen-Court.*

Having now surveyed the monastic buildings which stand on the east side of the great Cloister, we may turn to the north and describe the Refectory and its appendages which occupied that side of the Cloister, and in which the food of the convent was prepared and served to its members.

We are indebted to the Norman drawing for the knowledge of the precise arrangement of these offices, as well as of the disposition of the Celerer's buildings, which lie between the west boundary of the kitchen court and kitchen and the wall of the Archbishop's palace-ground. The demolition of conventual buildings on these sites has been so complete, that without that drawing the Celerer's arrangements could never have been explained in detail.

But this description may be prefaced by a short notice of the general principles of arrangement employed in the dining-halls of the middle ages.

Mr. Hudson Turner, in his admirable treatise on the Domestic Architecture of England, has shewn that in the twelfth century—

"Ordinary manor-houses, and even domestic edifices of greater pretension, were generally built on one uniform plan, comprising a hall with a chamber or chambers adjacent. The hall was situated on the ground-floor or over a lower story which was half in the ground; it was the only large apartment in the entire edifice, and was adapted in its original design to accommodate the owner and his numerous followers and servants. They not only took their meals in the hall, but also

slept in it on the floor. In mediæval Latin, this apartment, and not unfrequently the whole building, is termed *aula*. Alexander Nequam describes in this century the various parts of a house to be the hall, the private or bedchamber, the kitchen, the larder, the sewery,¹ and the cellar.”

To this extract I may add, that the dining-hall in the Universities and Inns of Court has retained the mediæval arrangement even to our own time.

When the buildings are disposed about courtyards or cloisters, the hall is usually placed so that its side wall coincides with a side of the court, and the entrance-door, being in that side, gives direct admission to the transverse passage or vestibule, which is always separated from the body of the hall, at the end opposite to the high table, by a screen with doors. If the kitchen be a detached building, as in the large monasteries, for example at Canterbury and Glastonbury, or at Eton College and many others, the court in which it is placed will be at the opposite side of the hall to the entrance, and the vestibule will terminate in a passage beyond the hall, leading directly to this kitchen; but the end wall of the hall is also always pierced with two or more doors, leading respectively to the cellarage, whence drink is served out, and to the butteries, from whence bread, butter, and cheese are delivered during the meal as required.

The Norman Refectory or Frater-house of Canterbury, was replaced by an Early English one in the thirteenth century, and the Norman Kitchen by one in the Decorated style in the fourteenth. No traces exist of Norman work on their sites, with the exception of a small fragment at the north-west corner of the Kitchen.

From the Norman drawing it is evident that these two buildings stood in the same relative position as their successors; but with respect to their dimensions we are

¹ The sewer is the officer who serves up a feast.

left to conjecture that they were demolished because they were found inconvenient, and therefore probably of less dimensions than those which succeeded them.¹

But the general arrangement of the court and offices, behind the Refectory northwards, was so little affected by the rebuilding of that and the Kitchen, that the same description will apply to both. The north wall of the Cloister, which is the south wall of the Refectory, was rebuilt or reashlared when the Early English Refectory was constructed, for it is ornamented with an arcade of trefoil pointed arches, that still remain, and with two rich Early English doors, alike in all essential respects, excepting that the western (Plate 3, 56), placed at about two-thirds of the length of the Cloister, and giving entrance to the vestibule of the Refectory, has ascending steps. But the eastern door (53), which is at the north end of the eastern walk of the Cloister, has a low square-headed doorway under its richly molded arch, leaving a plain face of masonry, or tympanum, above its opening. This shews that it gave entrance to a passage beneath the floor of the Refectory, which was bounded on the east by the wall of the Dormitory, and led to the Kitchen court beyond (at 54). Such a passage, prolonging the eastern walk of the Cloister, and leading towards the Curia, is very common. The 'Rites of Durham,' speaking of the corresponding door, in-

¹ From the 'Rites of Durham' (Surtees Society for 1842, pp. 68, 73) we learn that there the Frater-house was reserved for festival days, and the monks commonly dined and supped in a room termed the Loft, "which was at the west end of the Fratree, above the Seller or Buttery. The Supprior dyd alwaies sitt at the upper end of the table as cheefe."

The great kitchen had two dresser windows into the Frater—a greater for principal feasts, the other for every day.

At the foot of the stairs that led up to this loft there was another door that went into the great Cellar or Buttery, where all the drink stood that served the Prior and Convent, having their meat served them in at the dresser window from the great kitchen through the Frater-house into the Loft.

forms us that in the south alley of their Cloister (which corresponds to the north alley of Canterbury Cloister¹), "there was adjoyninge to the syde of the Cloister dour a stoole or seat with iiij feete, and a back of wood joyned to the said stoole, which was maid fast in the wall for the porter to sytt on, which did keape the Cloister doure. And before the said stoole it was bourded in under foote for warmeness."

The east gable wall of the Refectory, which is in fact the Dormitory wall, still retains the Early English arcade which ornamented it behind the dais, and the trace of the insertion of the pavement of the hall at that end, 12 or 13 feet above the level of the Cloister pavement. The arcade has trefoil arches, with Early English moldings of the same section as that of the Cloister. Remains of a plain string molding, about six feet below the above-mentioned insertion of the hall pavement, shew the spring of a long Norman waggon-vault, which covered the passage (53, 54).

In the Distribution-document of 1546,² the lead, timber, and freestone of the "Frater," or Refectory, is ordered to be taken down for "y^e treasure of the church." But Somner's notes inform us that Mr. Robert Goldson, the third prebendary (and King's chaplain), obtained from his Majesty, in the following year, the grant of all these materials of the Frater, which it seems the Chapter had already begun to dispose of, for the royal grant provides that they are to allow him one hundred and thirty pounds for the materials already sold by them, and other timber and iron, as well as all iron, glass, timber, and stone then left unsold, so that he

¹ *Vide* the plans of Durham Abbey, by Carter, in the publications of the Society of Antiquaries, and in Billing's 'Cathedral of Durham,' pl. v., in which the Cloister door which opens to the prolongation of the eastern alley is shewn.

² *Vide* App. No. VIII.

build a convenient new prebend's house, etc. Hereupon Mr. Goldson did forthwith build the house, which was assigned to the third prebend, at the south-east corner of the precinct in the old convent garden (III., Plate 3).

Under this order the materials were so effectually removed that nothing was left of the walls of the Refectory save the eastern one, which belonged to the Dormitory, the southern, as high as the Cloister roof, and a fragment of the north-western angle (65), which, combined with another short piece of the abutment of the north wall against the Dormitory, enables its exact dimensions to be obtained. The latter fragment, only eighteen feet long, buried six or eight feet in the accumulated débris of the garden, exhibits the head and part of the jambs of a pointed archway (at 54), which terminated the passage from the Cloister already described. The curved head is grooved for glass; the jambs are plain. The vault of the opening, rising upwards towards the north, shews that there were rising steps below.

Returning to the Cloister, and to the door which gave entrance to the Refectory itself, we observe that two of the traceried arches of the Cloister garth (at 55), namely, the one opposite to this door, and the next to the east, are occupied each by a lavatory, at which the monks washed before taking food. Each lavatory consists of a water-trough or cistern, projecting outwards from the traceried arch, and contained in a closet formed between the buttresses, by a wall partly glazed. The closet is covered by a segmented vault, which abuts against these buttresses, and intercepts and carries the tracery of the Cloister arch, so that, the mullions being omitted, access is given to the trough. The Norman lavatory which occupied this position is fully described in Chapter X. below.

The 'Rites of Durham' (p. 70) mention that on the east side of their Cloister lavatory, there did hang a bell to give warning at eleven of the clock "for the Monncks

to cumme wash and dyne, having their closetts or almeries on either syde of the Frater-house dour kept alwaies with swete and clene towels to drie ther hands."

The Refectory door gave admission to the vestibule (Pl. 3, 66, or Pl. 2, 24), which had the Refectory to the east, and on the west the continuation of that building, which, in accordance with the general principles explained above, contained the butteries, pantry, and passage to the cellarage beneath the refectory.¹ The Norman drawing represents this continuation extending at the same height as the Refectory, to the west end of the Cloister. Its wall, which faces the south end of the Celerer's court, is covered in the drawing by a short cloistered alley, with simple arches resting on isolated pillars.

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Two doors are shewn in the wall of the buttery, which appear to indicate a division of this building into two. (*Vide* Plate 2, 28, 29.) The doors being in the back wall of the cloister, are exhibited by the same conventional device as those of the east alley of the great Cloister,—namely, by supposing the roof to have been cut away in front of them.

This building being entirely destroyed, with the exception of the Cloister wall, we are unable to discover whether it had a low vaulted substructure or was more equally divided into two stories. Near the west end of the wall, however, there is a turret stair or vice, with an entrance, as shewn in the plan of the Celerer's lodging (Fig. 19), which led to the upper story.

The Norman drawing shews that the north end of the vestibule of the Refectory opened to a long narrow build-

¹ The site of the Frater was allotted to the seventh prebendary; and the Chapter decreed, in the same year, that the common kitchen was to be taken down, and this prebendary, Mr. Glasier, to have the site, with the "long seller under y^e frater." This passage shews that the vaults under the Refectory were used as cellarage.

ing (R, Fig. 2.) covered with a shed roof, and furnishing, in continuation of the vestibule, a passage to the Kitchen (*Coquina*). Two windows are shewn, in the drawing, in the east wall of this passage. One (19) is labelled "Window (of the place) at which the portions are served out." *Fenestra ubi fercula administrantur*. From its position, it evidently throws light upon a table close to the half-door or *dresser window*, which we may assume to have been placed at the north end of the vestibule, and upon which the portions were delivered from the Kitchen to be handed out in succession through this dresser window into the refectory. A second window (20) is labelled as that through which the platters or trenchers are thrown out to be washed. *Fenestra per quam ejiciuntur scutelle ad lavandum*.

These windows open to an enclosure or court which may be termed the *Kitchen court*. A passage along the east side of this court, in continuation of that above described, as leading from the east walk of the Cloister, is palisaded in the same manner as the Herbarium, and is continued at right angles in front of the Kitchen. The low building (R), which forms the west boundary of the court, opens into the palisaded walk by a door close to the Kitchen.

The Kitchen, in the Norman drawing, is given in so conventional a manner that it is very difficult to interpret its form exactly. It is a lofty edifice, apparently square in plan, with a pyramidal leaden roof. The angles have turrets, which are probably chimneys, each belonging to a fireplace below. The southern wall is occupied by a lofty open arch, evidently exaggerated to display the interior, according to a method very common in the representations of buildings on seals and in MSS. in the middle ages. Within, two arches are open, which may be windows, or the fire-places to which the two small angle turrets or chimneys above them

belong. An appendage to the east (at 21) resembles an apse, but is labelled as the "Chamber where fish is washed." *Camera ubi piscis lavatur.*

The Norman Kitchen was replaced by a new one, under Prior Hathbrande¹ (1338 to 1370), of which sufficient fragments of the lower part of the walls on the north and west sides remain to determine the magnitude, and to shew that it was in the form of a square of 47 feet within, with arches cutting off the angles, so as to sustain an octagonal roof, in the ordinary manner of conventual and other kitchens of the period.² In these angles, it appears from the one which remains, the fire-places were situated. The lower end of its circular chimney-flue remains perfect, in the position indicated by the circles at 34 in Fig. 22. In this angle the corner walls are carried up vertically to the height of the arch, and upon the triangular space formed by the walls and the arch a vault is placed, which is gradually gathered into the tubular form of the chimney-flue as it rises. The circular lines in the drawing are plans of the flue at the point where the circular section begins and the flue becomes vertical. This is exactly the disposition of the kitchen at Glastonbury, and the stunted buttresses, of which the lower parts of two remain (Figs. 21 and 22), are also placed in directions which meet in the centre of the plan of the kitchen, which is the case at Glastonbury. It may be, therefore, concluded that the arrangement of the vaulted roof was similar to that well-known example.

The small kitchen of the Infirmary, in the Norman

¹ *Vide* Obit. Cant., Ang. Sac. 142.

² At Ely, remains of the Norman kitchen, 35 feet square within, exist, but were mistaken by Bentham for a chapter-house. The kitchen at Glastonbury is also 35 feet square, and that of Durham 36 feet. My researches at Canterbury, in 1844, enabled me to discover the plan and arrangement of the Norman refectory at Ely, and to shew, by juxtaposition, the true purpose of this so-called chapter-house, which latter building certainly was always placed in the east side of the cloister in Benedictine monasteries.

drawing, has a domical roof capped with a ball, and a single turret projecting eastward, which may be a chimney and recess for the fire-place.

Between the north wall of the great Kitchen and the Green Court was an enclosed space, which subsequent documentary evidence shews to have been occupied by the larder, for which its cool north aspect made it suitable. (*Vide* Chap. VI., sect. 1.) A Norman doorway still remains (at 25) in the west wall of this area, as shewn in the plan (Plate 2). Vines, in the Norman drawing, are trained against the west wall of the Kitchen.

The west alley of the Cloister is bounded by the *Cellarium*, or Celerer's Lodgings. To this officer was committed the provision of food to the monks, and the ordering thereof, as well as to the guests; and he had the Bake-house, Brew-house, and Malt-house under his charge. He was therefore lodged at the end of the Refectory buildings and in contact with the court of the Guesten-hall, termed *Aula Hospitum* in the Norman drawing, and Celerer's Hall in the later documents. Two doors in the western alley lead to his territory, the one at the north end, opposite to the northern alley, the other near the south end. The first is remarkable for having at the left side a singular octagonal opening of sixteen inches diameter through the thickness of the wall, in the form of a horizontal spout, the middle of which is about four feet from the ground. It pierces the wall, narrowing to a circular form a foot in diameter at the back, where it appears to have opened into one of the Celerer's offices.

Milner, describing the remains of the conventual buildings at Winchester,¹ mentions a small ornamented arch in a wall, which communicated with the buttery and cellarage, and remarks, "It is not improbable that here was what is called a Turn, by means of which the

¹ History of Winchester, vol. ii. p. 96.

brethren who were exhausted with fatigue and thirst, might, with the leave of their superior, at certain times call for a cup of beer of the cellarer.”¹ Our spout may have been a contrivance to carry out this indulgence. The opening from the cellarge at the back being contrived at right angles with the present opening, it is plain that the cup could be placed by the cellarer’s man within reach of the applicant and returned without mutual recognition. But at present there are no traces of the form of its termination inwards, for the wall on that side has been repaired so as to conceal it altogether—probably when the Palace buildings were restored by Archbishop Parker in 1559.²

The arrangement of the Celerer’s lodgings will be examined below (in Chapter VI. 1).

Having now described the purely monastic buildings that are entered from the great Cloister, we will in the next section pass to the examination of the Cloister itself.

4. *Great Cloister.*

The Cloister itself, being the abiding-place of the monks, must be surveyed as a whole before we pass to the monastic buildings in the Infirmary cloister. Its walls stand upon the same lines as Lanfranc’s, shewn in the Norman drawing. Its Norman alleys were not vaulted, but were simply roofed, the roof resting on a stone arcade, represented with single columns, support-

¹ Mr. Walcott also applies this passage to explain the opening in question. (Transactions of Institute of Brit. Arch. vol. vi. p. 67.)

² The *Turn* or *Rota* is also a contrivance employed in Nunneries, Foundling Hospitals, and elsewhere, and consists of an upright cylindrical box turning on an upright axis, and having an opening on one side only. It is fixed within or in front of an opening in a partition wall, so that a person on one side placing any object in the Turn can, by twisting the box half round, bring the object within the grasp of a second person on the other side, without either party seeing the other. Its construction is minutely described by St. Charles Borromeo. (*Vide* Acta Ecc. Mediol. p. 492, or Wigley’s Translation, 1857, p. 141.)

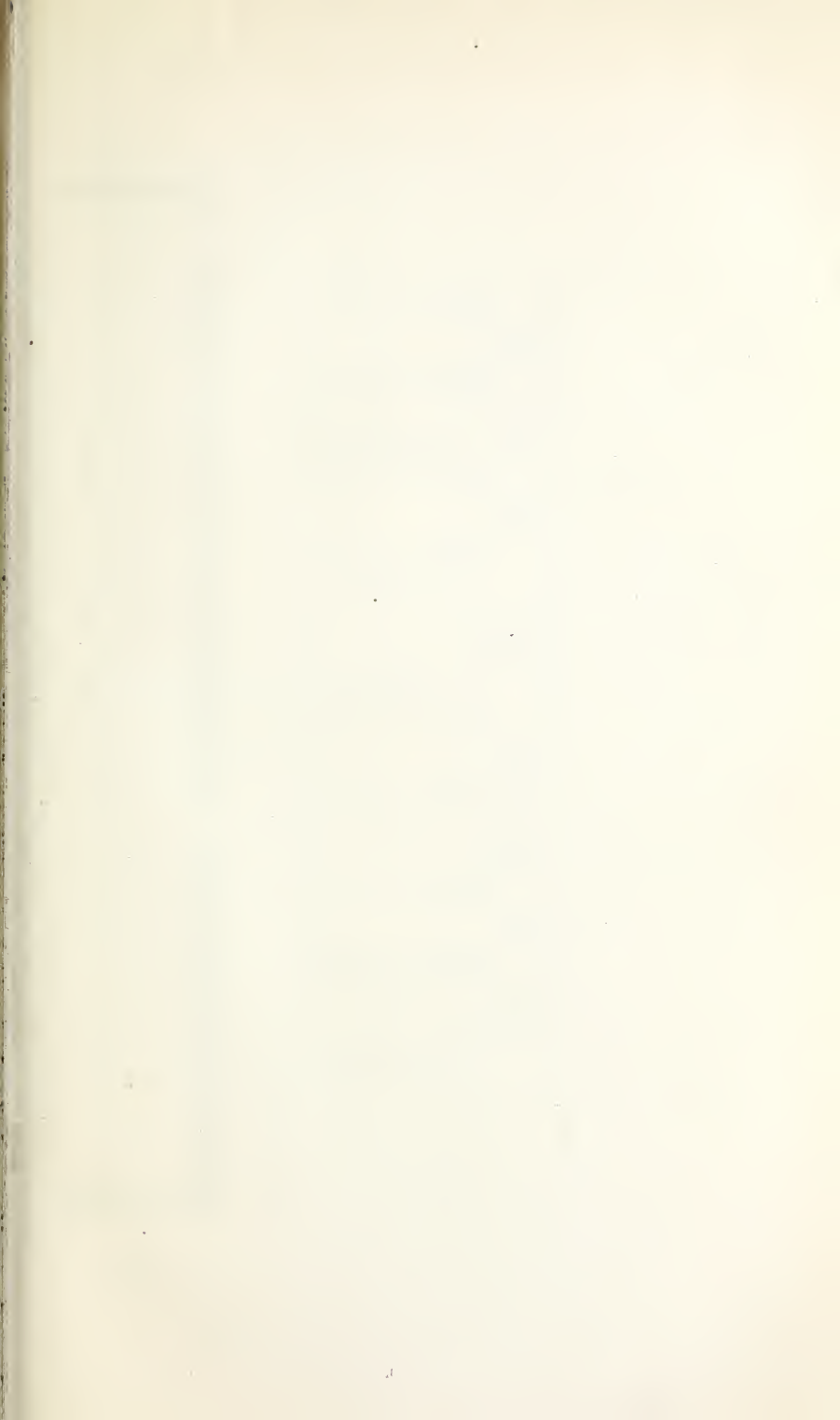
ing nine arches on each side. The roof is covered with lead in the drawing.

The present Cloister is an entire rebuilding, having nothing in common with the Norman but the outer limits. Instead of open arches, the enclosing walls of the Cloister garth present a series of traceried openings, like unglazed windows, separated by rich pinnacled buttresses and crowned with ogee hoodmolds (see Fig. 2, p. 29). It has a rich complex vault, and the design is carried uniformly round the whole area, with the exception of the inner or back walls of the alleys, which, as we have seen, belong to buildings of different ages. Consequently these walls, more especially in the east and north alleys, resemble those of a museum of mediæval architecture, against which examples of all the styles have been placed for the edification of students.

For instance, the door of the north transept in the east walk (47, Plate 3), by which Becket entered the Cathedral on the morning of his murder or martyrdom, received in the thirteenth century the addition of a rich triple arcade, whose central arch embraces the doorway. But the doorway itself is a subsequent addition in Perpendicular work inserted under the Early English arcade without disturbing it otherwise than by the offensive contrast of lines and style; for this new doorway is of the usual form of its period, namely, a pointed archway contained within a square-headed frame of moldings. But the latter unfortunately are placed under the pointed Early English arch, touching its soffit at each upper corner.

As the moldings and forms of this doorway are the same as those of the entrance to the crypt from the small eastern cloister, which bears the device of Archbishop Morton, we may attribute this example to his time, *c.* 1490.

Walking from the door northward, we pass in succes-



sion the narrow Perpendicular opening (48) to the old slype between transept and Chapter-house, the Decorated doorway and flanking windows (49) of the Chapter-house (1304), the Perpendicular entrance of the Dark Entry (50),¹ and finally the old Norman door (52) of the Dormitory. In addition, the Perpendicular vaulting shafts are inlaid into the old walls at equal distances, necessarily without reference to the arrangement of the old doorways. One of these shafts is built against the rich Early English archwork of the Becket door, covering it in part with its springing block without the slightest respect to the ancient work.

The most remarkable example of this superposition of two discordant designs occurs on the south wall of the Refectory, which is the back wall of the north alley of the Cloister. It will be recollected that the Early English Refectory was built when the Cloister was in the condition in which it was left by the Norman architects, unvaulted, and covered by a wooden roof. The surface of the back wall of the alley in such a cloister is usually plain, and broken only by the doorways or windows necessary for the surrounding offices or passages. These openings are placed without regard to the position of the piers and arches which separate them from the cloister garth. The architect of the Refectory wall we are considering determined to decorate this blank wall with an arcade of trefoil arches, similar to the arcades which are placed under the side aisle windows of great churches. Apparently for the purpose of avoiding the monotony of so long an arcade as was required in this case, the peculiar arrangement was employed which is shewn in the plan and sketch annexed (Figs. 3, 4). The plan includes the whole length of the northern alley of the Cloister; the sketch above it represents the beginning of the arcades at the west end,

¹ *Vide* Frontispiece of Woolnoth's 'Canterbury,' and Britton, Pl. IV.

with a sufficient length of them to explain the combination of the later arches with the old ones. The vault-shafts (M, N) in the upper figure correspond to M, N in the plan.

The arches of the arcade are disposed in groups of four, and each group separated from the next by a single isolated arch of the same size and form as the others. The great Refectory door (R) is not in the middle of the alley, but the arcades to the right and left of it are symmetrically placed with respect to it.

The Roman numerals are placed above the plan (Fig. 4) opposite to the single arches, of which there are six, two on the left-hand of the Refectory door alternating with two of the quadruple groups, and four on the right-hand alternating with four of the quadruple groups, of which, however, the last, which would have extended to the angle of the Cloister, is shorn of two of its arches by the doorway (C) of the passage to the Kitchen court, already described. This doorway, however, is a contemporary work.

When the vaulted Cloister, in Chillenden's time, superseded the Norman shed-roofed Cloister in front of this wall, the mason simply divided the length of the alley into ten spaces, like the rest of the new cloister, and set up his vaulting shafts against the arcade wall, inlaying them into the face of the old masonry. But as the arcaded design is divided into eight severies, and the new one vaulted into ten, it is plain that there can be no harmony or coincidence between the parts. If the new vault had been carried on corbels inserted above the arcades, the discordant spacing of the two systems would not have been offensive. But unfortunately the effect of the combination has been to obliterate and obscure the ingenious arrangement of the alternately grouped and single arches, so that, as far as I know, it has hitherto escaped observation. The diffi-

culty of perceiving it is increased by the mode in which the interference of the new vault-shaft piers with the old shafts and arches was carried out. This absurd device is represented in the elevation at M and N.

For example, at M, in the plan and elevation, the vault-shaft pier happens to come so nearly opposite to the arcade shaft as to cover it altogether, and bury it in its substance, as the plan shews. This shaft-pier, above the Early English capital, is sunk in a groove cut to receive it, through the moldings of the arch. But as the section through these moldings is very oblique, and therefore difficult, as it would appear, to cut clean, the stones containing the whole of the moldings from *p* to *t* were removed, and a piece of them inserted from *t* to *r*, so as to convert the trefoil arch into a deformed arch, *s t r*, with continuous moldings abutting against the new capital at *r*. In the next compartment, at N, the same expedient is employed at *z*, and similar devices throughout the whole length.

It is manifest that by this method the adjustment of the interfering parts was practically made easy to a workman who had never learnt the art of sinking the deep Early English moldings. But the beauty and symmetry of the old arcade were hopelessly disfigured.

It will be perceived that at *r t* I have indicated the process by dotted lines, and at *z* shewn the actual appearance of the combination, which is repeated at nearly every place where the vault-shafts intersect the arcades.

The south and west alleys present none of the entanglements of style in their back walls of the kind we have surveyed in the others. In the majority of instances we find that the alley of a cloister which lines the wall of the nave of a cloistered church, whether on the north or south side, is provided with two doors from its aisle, the one opening to the extremity of the east cloister, the other to that of the west cloister; but at Canterbury

the Lady chapel of the Norman nave having been placed at the east end of the north side aisle, the Cloister door could not be pierced in that place; it was therefore made at the east end of the south Cloister, in the wall of the north transept. A small door (60, Plate 3) is also placed at the west end of the north aisle of the nave, but it opens, not into the Cloister itself, but into a narrow passage, which turned eastward to a second small door in the west wall of the west Cloister. Thus the distribution of the vaulting shafts is not interfered with or disfigured by previous openings.

The west Cloister wall belongs to the Celerer's Lodging; but this was rebuilt by Chillenden, and is accordingly supplied with doorways in the Perpendicular style, harmonizing with the vault-shafts and the architectural style of the whole walk. These doorways will be described below, under the head of the Celerer's Lodging (Chap. VI., sect. 1).

The "monks' new school," mentioned in the note¹ in connection with the new Celerer's Lodging (which bounds the west alley), is explained by a passage in the 'Rites of Durham' (p. 71) describing the west alley of that cloister, which we are told had—

"A fair stall of wainscott, where the Novices were taught, over against the Treasury door. And the master of the Novices had a pretty seat of wainscott adjoyning to the south side of the Treasury door, over against the stall where the Novices sate. And there he taught the said Novices both forenoon and afternoon.

"No strangers or other persons were suffered to molest or trouble the said Novices or Monks in their Carrels, for to that purpose there was a porter appointed to keep the cloister door."

We are indebted to the 'Rites of Durham' for the record of these "carrels," a part of the furniture of the

¹ "Nova camera celerarii cum nova scola monachorum" is contained in the list of his works relating to the cloister. (App. No. VI. § 22.)

monastic cloister, which would else have escaped observation, but the existence of which, by the help of this notice, I have been enabled to trace in the cloisters of Gloucester and elsewhere. The passage in question runs thus:—

“XLI. THE CLOISTER. THE NORTHE ALLEY.

“In the north syde of the Cloister, from the corner over against the Church dour to the corner over againste the Dorter dour, was all fynely glased, from the hight to the sole within a litle of the grownd into the Cloister garth. And in every wyndowe iij PEWES or CARRELLS, where every one of the old Monks had his carrell, severall by himselfe, that, when they had dyned, they dyd resorte to that place of cloister and there studyed upon there books, every one in his carrell, all the after nonne, unto evensong tyme. This was there exercise every daie. All there pewes or carrells was all fynely wainscotted and verie close, all but the forepart, which had carved wourke that gave light in at ther carrell doures of wainscott. And in every carrell was a deske to lye there bookes on. And the carrells was no greater than from one stanchell of the wyndowe to another. And over against the carrells against the church wall did stande certaine great almeries [or cupbords] of waynscott all full of BOOKES [with great store of ancient manuscripts to help them in their study], wherein dyd lye as well the old auneynt written Doctors of the Church as other prophane authors, with dyverse other holie mens wourks, so that every one dyd studye what Doctor pleased them best, havinge the Librarie at all tymes to goe studie in besydes there carrells.”

The documents of Canterbury supply two passages referring to similar arrangements. In 1317 Prior De Estria made “new studies” at an expense of £32. 9s. (App. No. V.); and Prior Selling (1472–94) glazed the south alley of the Cloister for the use of the studious brethren, and made there “the new framed contrivances which are now called carols.”¹

¹ “Australē partē Claustrī ad usum studiosorum confratrum vitreari fecit, ac ibidem novos Textus, quos Carolos ex novo vocamus, perdecētes fecit.” (Obit^y. Ang. Sac.)

The mullions in this south alley are grooved for glazing to within two feet five inches of the plinth, and have iron transoms and two iron standards in each light. Also the traceried work above has glazing grooves. But the remainder of the Cloister is not provided with these indications of glazing. The woodwork of these carols has entirely disappeared.

The event which led to the building of the present Cloister was the rebuilding of the nave of the church, the origin of which was briefly as follows:—

In 1378 Archbishop Sudbury granted a forty days' indulgence to all contributors for rebuilding the nave of the church, which is stated to be notoriously in such an evident state of ruin that it must be rebuilt. The work was already begun, but funds were wanting to complete it. This Archbishop caused the nave to be taken down to the foundations at his own expense, but was prevented, by his violent death in 1381, from re-erecting it. In 1397 a document¹ declares that the prior and convent had expended upwards of five thousand marks out of their common property upon the construction of the said nave and other necessary works about the church.

Now the prior of a monastery was, by virtue of his office, the director of all building works, if not the actual architect, and the prior of this period was Chillenden (1390-1411). The enumeration of his new works and repairs, published for the first time in this memoir, shews that he was a most active and efficient officer. Indeed Leland terms him "the greatest builder of a prior that ever was in Christes Chirche" (*Vide App. No. VI.*). The above-mentioned document of 1397 alludes to works that must be done about the prostrate Cloister and the Chapter-house, which is thought to be in a dangerous state; and accordingly the enumeration of Chillenden's works includes the "new work in the Cloister, as yet not

¹ *Vide Arch. Hist. of Canterbury Cath.* pp. 117, 118.

completed,¹ and the completion of the new Chapter-house."

The demolition of the nave necessarily entailed that of the south walk of the old Cloister, and the design and plan of the new Cloister must therefore have been settled by the architect of the new nave, because the vaulting shafts and springing blocks of the vaults of the south walk are an integral part of the outer ashlar of the north wall of the nave.

The tracery of the Cloister is of the same character as that of the side aisle windows of the nave and of the great Chapter-house window, so as to identify them all as the work of the same artist. The vaults of the nave also are of the same character as the vaults of the Cloister.

Evidently therefore the new Cloister was begun at the south side, but left incomplete, by Chillenden, and the design of the architecture may be placed at the end of the fourteenth century.

Archbishop Courtney, who died in 1396 (1382-96), left £200 or more, at the discretion of his executors, "for the new building or construction of one pane of the cloister, extending directly from the palace door to the church."² This must refer to the west alley, which has the door from the palace at the north end and the church wall at the south end.

5. *Infirmary Cloister.*

Passing through the dark entry by the *Hostium Locutorii* of the Norman drawing (Plate 2, 16, and Plate 3, 50) described above, we are led straight into the

¹ (19) "Novum opus in clauastro adhuc non completum, (20) nova domus capitularis completa, (22) nova camera celerarii."

² "..... pro nova factura sive constructione unius panæ claustrii ab hostio palatii usque ad ecclesiam se recto tramite extendentis."—*Will of the Archbishop. Battely*, App. 33.

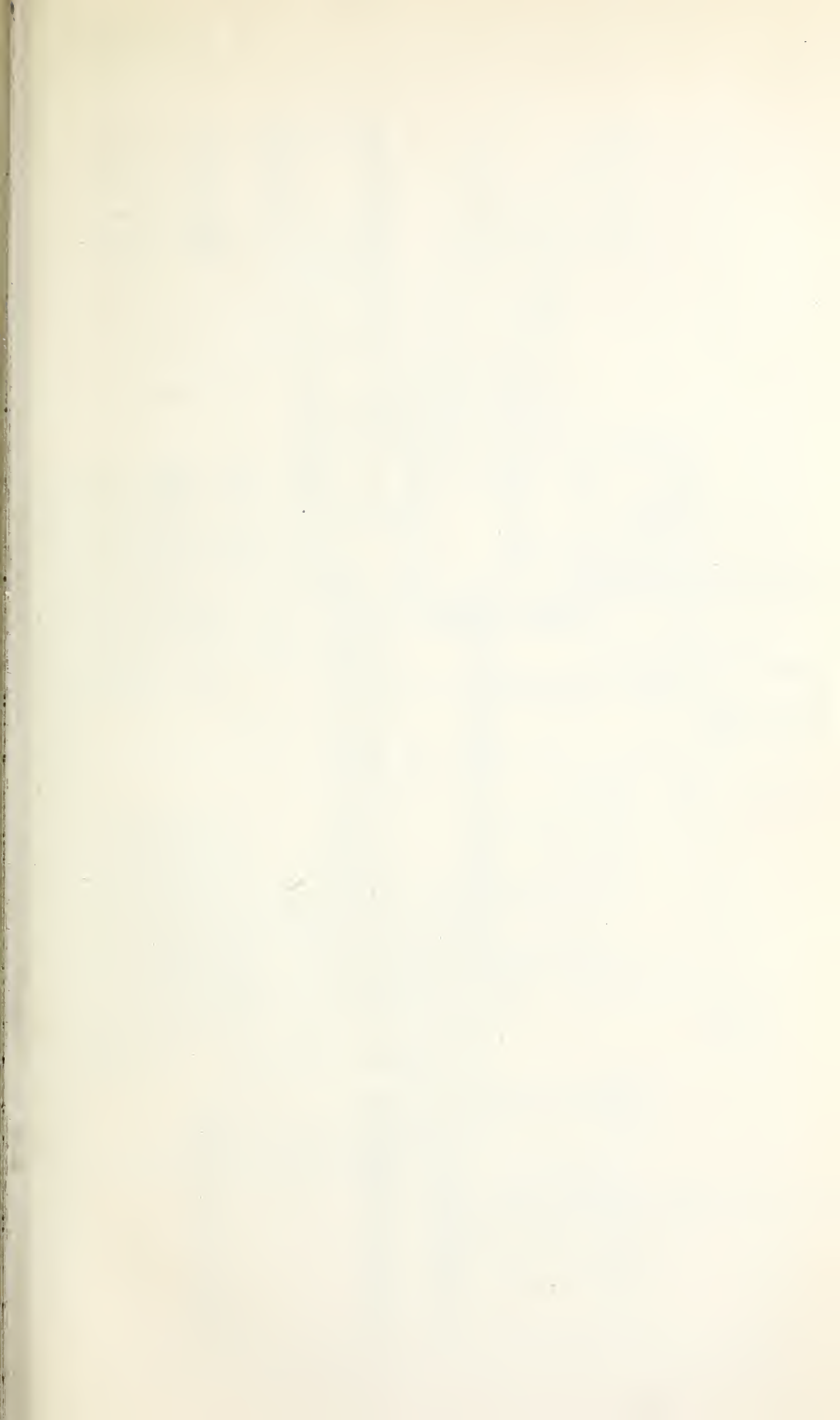
south alley of the Infirmary cloister, represented in that drawing. Of this cloister sufficient remains exist to testify to the accuracy of the draughtsman, when due allowance is made for his method of delineation.

The west side of this cloister is bounded by the Dormitory, the east side by the west or front wall of the Infirmary Hall. The south side provides a continuation of the passage from the great Cloister already described as a Locutory or Parlour. This side of the Infirmary cloister is accordingly labelled in the drawing as the road which leads to the Infirmary Hall—*Via que ducit ad Domum Infirmorum*. How much these sheltered passages were valued by the monks is shewn by the expression of the chronicler Osbern, who, describing the conflagration of the Saxon church in 1067, attributes to the intercession of the blessed Dunstan the preservation of so much of their cloisters as enabled them to pass from the Refectory to the Dormitory without being wetted by rain.¹

It must be remembered that the Norman cloister alleys were rarely vaulted, but consisted merely of an arcade of stone resting on shafts, parallel to the wall which formed the inner boundary of the alley. A shed roof, supported on its upper side by stone hooked-shaped corbels built into the wall, and on its lower side by the arcade, completed the cloister. This simple structure was employed throughout the middle ages, and still remains at Durham, Winchester College, etc. When vaults are given to cloisters, the transverse arches require strong compound piers with buttresses to restrain the outward thrust of the vaults.

The Norman drawing of this Infirmary cloister represents it as bounded on the north, south, and east sides with arcading, resting on simple and numerous pillars. At the present time we find, on the east side, the re-

¹ Arch. Hist. p. 13.



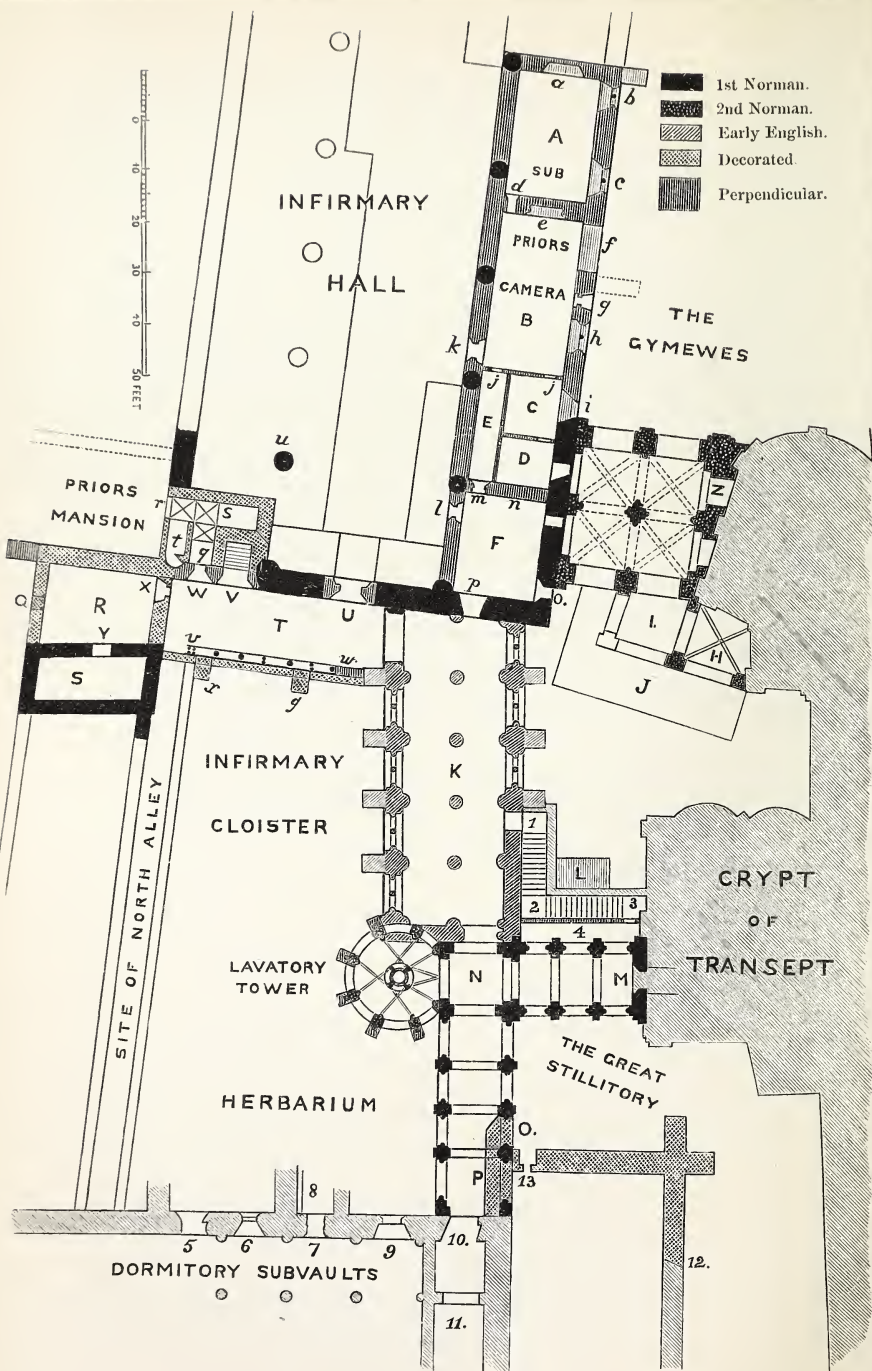


Fig. 5.—GROUND PLAN OF INFIRMARY CLOISTER AND SURROUNDING BUILDINGS.

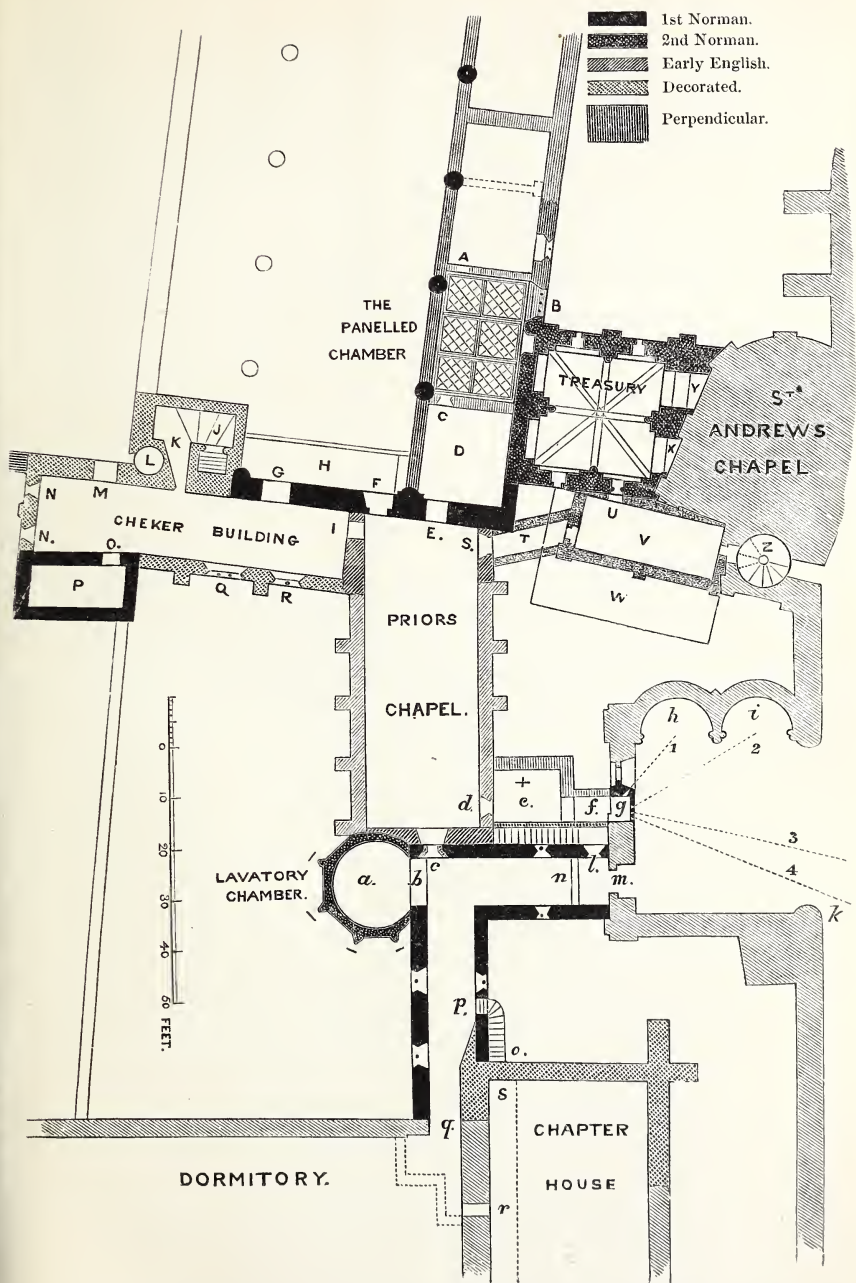


Fig. 6.—FIRST FLOOR PLAN OF INFIRMARY CLOISTER AND SURROUNDING BUILDINGS.



mains of such an arcaded cloister, in front of the Infirmary (*vide* Fig. 5 at T, and Fig. 16). The arches are plain, square-edged, of a single order, only two feet ten inches in span, and fourteen inches thick, resting on low shafts, which are alternately single and double. The capitals are of early Norman character. Some of the shafts are carved with small spiral flutes, either continuous, or alternately right and left as in the crypt column engraved in my 'Architectural History' (p. 69). Only six of these arches remain, and they are partly masked by the piers and buttresses which support the front wall of the high building which was erected subsequently, and will be described below. The complete arcade consisted either of twelve or thirteen arches. But the erection of the Prior's chapel, in the thirteenth century, swept away the southern half of this eastern alley and half of the southern alley. In the Norman drawing only ten arches are given to this eastern alley. In reality the length of the alley is equal to the west front of the Infirmary, which backs it. But the nature of the drawing made it impossible for the draughtsman to exhibit this fact, which was not essential to his hydraulics.

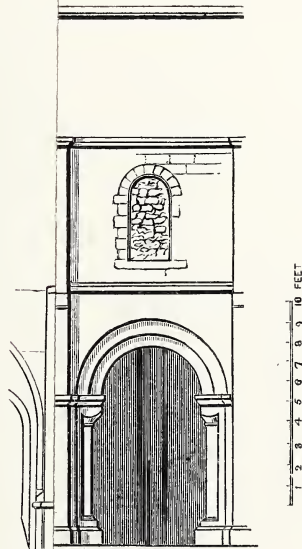
The north and south arcades are shewn in the same simple form as the east; the former, which has now left no traces, except the springing of its boundary-wall at the east end, and perhaps at the west, is represented with eighteen arches. The south arcade is partly covered by the circular tower of the Lavatory, commonly termed the Baptistery, but shews six arches on each side of it. As the eastern alley was certainly never vaulted, it is probable that, as completed by Lanfranc, a similar construction was carried along the north and south sides.

But at present the southern alley is occupied, in the space from the Dormitory to the circular tower, by a Norman ambulatory, of five open arches on each side,

resting on compound piers of substantial masonry, vaulted with transverse arches and groins, and surmounted by a low upper story or gallery, with Norman windows. (Figs. 5, 6, 7.) The circular Lavatory tower, which now stands in front of the fifth arch, was a subsequent erection, as shewn below. From the fifth compartment a vaulted and arcaded ambulatory or passage (N, M, Fig. 5), of exactly similar construction, also provided with an upper gallery, leads southwards at right angles, to a door in the gable of Ernulf's transept. This door gives access to the crypt, by a flight of descending steps within the thickness of the gable wall. The door is placed as near the western wall of the crypt as possible, to enable the monks to enter it and pass forward without interfering with the services at the two crypt altars, which occupied the apses of the transept, and were dedicated respectively to St. Mary Magdalene and St. Nicholas.

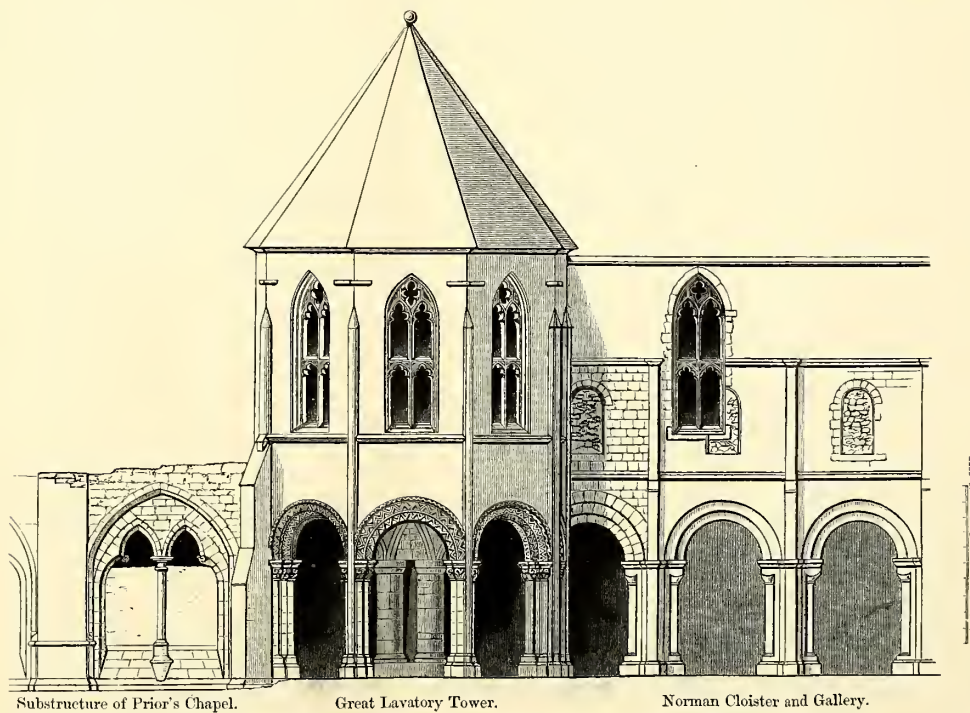
The span of that arch of the vaulted ambulatory from which this south branch issues, is considerably greater than the corresponding arches of the arcade, and that severey of the vault, which is square in plan, forms a kind of crossing, the piers of which are treated in a manner which shews that the southern branch was not an afterthought. This substantial work was evidently planned for the purpose of providing a covered passage from the south ambulatory of the Infirmary cloister to the new transeptal chapels in the crypt of Anselm's church, which should also carry a gallery above, by which a second covered passage might be obtained, leading from the Dormitory floor to a door in the north transept gable. This upper story is on the level of the pavement of the choir of Conrad, which, being raised upon the crypt, is carried to a height of twelve or fourteen feet above the level of the cloisters, and thus brought to coincide with the level of the upper gallery by the help of a few steps.

Opposite page 50.



Suband Gallery.





Substructure of Prior's Chapel.

Great Lavatory Tower.

Norman Cloister and Gallery.

Fig. 7.—ELEVATION OF PART OF THE SOUTH SIDE OF THE INFIRMARY CLOISTER.



The substantial architecture of the cloister and gallery just described is sufficiently accounted for by the necessity of providing for the monks a covered access from the Dormitory to the new choir without descending into the cloister. The vaulting of this part of the cloister was necessary, to give permanence to the floor of the passage. The style of the architecture is singularly simple and elegant, but is precisely the same in details as the crypt of Anselm's work.

But the so-called Baptistery, but really Lavatory, as in Chillenden's list (*vide* Appendix No. VI. § 7), is erected against this cloistered gallery, with straight joints, and manifestly a subsequent addition in a later style; belonging to the hydraulic system, and therefore erected about 1160. The Prior's chapel, of which now only the substructure remains, has obliterated the portion of the south alley which reached from the Baptistery to the Infirmary, and prevented us from ascertaining whether the vaulted cloister was carried beyond the Baptistery eastward. But as there was no need of extending the upper gallery beyond its present boundary eastward, it is probable that Lanfranc's southern shed-roofed cloister was allowed to remain undisturbed in that part in the manner shewn in my plan (Plate 2, 12).

The west side of this Cloister-garth is occupied, in the Norman drawing, by a low building erected against the Dormitory wall, which has a latticed fence in front, and ornamented dormers on the roof. A door at the south end gives entrance to it; but no inscription tells of its purpose. A similar latticed fence divides the cloister garth into two parts.¹ The western part is labelled *Herb-*

¹ These palisades, of which another has been described above in the kitchen-court, are formed of two rows of flat wooden slips, driven into the ground, so as to slant to right and left, and form a reticulation. In Viollet-le-Duc's Dictionary, such palisades are said to occur in manuscripts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and he has given a figure of them. (*Art. Clôture*, p. 462.)

arium, and in the drawing is filled with small herbs, omitted in the engraved copy of 1755.

The ruined wall of the Dormitory, as already described, retained until the building of the present Library various broken projections, or toothings, shewn in the plan, some of which still remain. These indicate that some building was erected against this part of the wall, of which the projections indicate partitions, and thus confirm the existence of some monastic office in that place. The first western arch of the Norman vaulted cloister, namely, that which stands against the south end of this building, is of greater span than the others, as if intended to accommodate the abutment of its east wall against the east pier of the arch.

6. *The Infirmary.*

The Infirmary itself extends eastward from the east wall of the cloister just described, which wall is in fact its western gable.

The monastic Infirmary, generally speaking, resembles the nave of a church, with side aisles, pier arches, and clerestory windows above. This is clearly shewn in the Norman drawing, and labelled *Domus Infirmorum*, or Infirmary hall—literally, “House of the Sick and Infirm”; but the distribution document shews that at the Dissolution it bore the name of the “Long Hall.” (*Vide* Appendix No. VIII. § 12.) Beyond this *domus* is the Chapel of the infirmary, *Capella Infirmorum*, attached to it as the chancel of a church is to its nave, and having side aisles and a clerestory; but internally it was entirely separated from the *domus* by a wall rising to its roof, and having a door in the centre, as at Ely. Traces of the junction of this wall with the south wall of the chapel remain. To the eastern extremity of the chapel is appended a real chancel, which in the Norman drawing is represented as a simple apse.

At the Dissolution, the Infirmary buildings were ordered to be pulled down, and the site appropriated to certain prebendal houses. Fortunately some considerable portions were found useful in the erection of these buildings by furnishing ready-made walls and supports, which economized their construction. By the help of these I was enabled, by exploring the interior of the houses, to plan and draw the details of construction of the *Domus* and *Capella* in 1847.¹ But in the late demolition of superfluous houses these remains have been completely set free from their parasitic additions, and left standing as picturesque ruins.

The condition of these ruins is that five Norman piers and arches of the Hall remain on the south side, but of the clerestory not a fragment is left. Its south side aisle wall and roof existed before the above-mentioned demolition, in which it was unfortunately included, but will be described below. The complete southern range of the piers and arches of the Chapel is standing, with enough of the clerestory to show its proportions and the form of its windows. The foundations and lower parts of the south side aisle have been uncovered and allowed to remain exposed. The chancel, which is square, now exhibits a large flowing window on the north side, with evidence of a similar one eastward and southward. But the fragments of a Norman zigzag window on the south and north, of a square Norman pilaster at the south-east angle, and also of two Norman east windows, shew that this square chancel was built in the latter part of the Norman style. The apse represented as terminating these

¹ My comparison of the Norman drawing with these remains of the Infirmary buildings enabled me to prove for the first time that the ruins at the south-east of the Cathedral at Ely were in reality those of an Infirmary Hall and Chapel, with Kitchen, Table-Hall, etc., similar to those at Canterbury, and not, as Bentham imagined, the remains of a Saxon church and convent. I subsequently discovered similar Infirmaries at Peterborough, Gloucester, and elsewhere.

Infirmary buildings in the Norman drawing, may have existed previously, but is more likely to have been inserted as a conventional mode of designating a church.

The piers of the hall are plain cylindrical columns with scalloped capitals, exactly resembling those of the porch of the North Hall, or *Aula Nova*, and the pier arches are of two square-edged orders formed by a shallow plain sunk fillet on the face. The piers of the chapel, on the contrary, are compound, and the arches have a roll-molding in the nook between the square-edged orders, and their capitals are richly carved.¹

The chancel of the Infirmary Chapel underwent a thorough restoration about the middle of the fourteenth century, of which no historical note remains, and by which its Norman character was completely transformed into the style of that period. A large three-light tracery window was inserted in the Norman walls on each side, and at the east end a five-light window, occupying its whole breadth. The northern window remains entire; its opposite, on the south, has only left its western jamb to testify of its existence. Of the eastern window, the sill, with the seats of its four mullions and portions of the jambs, remain and shew that it was inserted at the same time with the others. The wall retains its Norman quoins, by which we learn that the dimensions of the chancel were not changed by the works in question.

The jambs of these windows are excessively splayed, and the scotarch, which defines the inner outline, is a segmental arch. Altogether, the inner opening of the window is about as broad as high, which is not a graceful proportion. The pattern of the tracery of that which remains has a mixture of geometrical and flowing lines, that assimilates it to the window in Anselm's Chapel,² of which the recorded date is 1336.

¹ In Carter's 'Ancient Architecture,' pl. xxix., these capitals are all represented.

² Engraved in my Arch. Hist., p. 115. This arch is also a sprawling segmental pointed arch, and has moldings of the same kind as these windows.

A new chancel arch was built at the same time with these changes.

The first recorded additions to the Infirmary are those of Prior Hathbrande (1338-1370), who built the stone Hall called "*Mensa Magistri Infirmatorii*," or *Table Hall* as it was termed at the Reformation (*vide* Appendix No. VIII.), and also seven adjacent chambers for the infirm.

The walls of this Hall remain, and shew that it stood at the east end of the north aisle of the Infirmary Hall, projecting northward. The wall of the north aisle is the south end of the Hall, and the latter, being worked into one of the prebendal houses which has escaped the late destructive changes, retains three windows, of two lights each, with a plain transom and good tracery, valuable as being dated. For Somner quotes out of the treasurer's accounts of the church in 1342 and next following year the passages given below,¹ which shew that this new Hall with a chamber, in the Infirmary, as well as other new chambers in the Infirmary, and also pentises or wooden cloisters, about this Hall and these chambers, were in course of construction.

The "*Table Hall*" was the especial Refectory for those who were able to quit their chambers or were relieved for a time from the austerities of the cloister.

Every other portion of the north half of these infirmary buildings has been swept away. We know from the Norman drawing that its kitchen stood in the position indicated by dotted lines (at 9, Pl. 2), on the north side of the hall; also that its necessarium was placed to the east of it, as shewn by the dotted parallelogram (at 8).

Some examples of mediæval infirmaries in almshouses or monasteries that retain their ancient fittings, as at

¹ Pro nova aula et una Camera de novo factis in firmaria. 96*l.* 8*s.* 2*d.* præter 20 marcas receptas a Feretrario pro nova camera facienda. Item pro novis cameris in firmaria et pentisiis circa aula ibidem, 61*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.* Item pro novo pentisio juxta novas cameras in firmaria, 6*l.* 15*s.* Ad. ob.

St. Mary's, Chichester, and St. John's, Northampton,¹ shew that in later times these side aisles were enclosed and divided by partitions and floors into separate chambers. The Infirmary Hall which we are examining presented, in the south side aisle, now destroyed, a most interesting example of this practice; for two-thirds of this aisle, from the west wall eastwards, had been fitted up as a complete Hostry or *Camera* for the Subprior before the fifteenth century, of which I have given the plans in Figs. 5 and 6.

At the Dissolution, this was assigned to the twelfth prebend, and by the help of a few additional fittings converted into a dwelling-house, in which state it remained until the late destruction of superfluous houses. This dwelling-house, however, had soon been found to be too small for a prebendary, and was transferred to a minor canon. The twelfth prebendary had a large mansion fitted up for him in the great necessarium, on the south side of the Green Court.

I will now describe the mediæval fittings of the Subprior's *Camera*, first observing that its appropriation to that officer is ascertained by help of a description of the great sewer, repaired by Chillenden, and afterwards by Goldston (*vide* Plates 2 and 3). In Chillenden's list (sect. 8) this watercourse is brought up to the south side of the "*Camera Subprioris*," then across the camera, and across the great Hall of the Infirmary.²

The pier arches were walled up to enclose the *Camera* on the north side, and the south side aisle wall raised or partly rebuilt, so as to receive a roof of less inclination than the Norman one and furnish large windows to the chambers.

¹ *Vide* Dollman's 'Domestic Architecture.'

² Battely (p. 94) first remarked that the course of the aqueduct, described under Goldston's name in the Obituary (Ang. Sac. p. 148), served to fix the residence of the subprior; and the more minute description of the same aqueduct in Chillenden's list, now first published, amply confirms Battely's decision.

A dining-hall (B, Fig. 5), thirty feet long, sixteen wide, and twenty high, with a withdrawing-room (A) twenty-five feet long to the east, occupied that end of the house, reaching to the roof.¹ The hall and withdrawing-room had large chimney pieces, with molded four-centred arches and battlemented crests, and were lighted by lofty Perpendicular square-headed windows (*b, c, h*) of two lights and a transom. There were traces in the east corner of the hall (at *f*) that seemed to shew that an oriel window once stood there. A small south door (*g*) next to it led outward, perhaps to a turret stair. The dining-hall was entered from the nave of the Infirmary Hall, by a richly-molded four-centred door (*k*) at the north-west corner, in the usual position assigned to hall doors.

Between the west end of the hall and the Infirmary gable the aisle was divided transversely by a wall (*m n*) into two compartments. The first, separated from the hall by the usual wooden partition or screen which had a door (*j*) at each extremity, was twenty-two feet long, and divided into two stories by a floor which gave eight feet of height to the lower apartments. By another partition a passage (E) was separated from its north part, through which the north door of this hall-screen led directly to the second or western compartment (F). The south part of the first, entered by the south door of the screen, contained two rooms (C, D), looking, the one into the "Gymews," as the old cemetery was termed, the other into the subvault of the Treasury, and probably employed as butteries or pantries. The window, in the same style as the larger ones, was low and adapted to the height of the floor, so as to shew that the Perpendicular side-wall of the aisle was erected after the plan of these chambers had been formed.

¹ When these apartments were fitted up for the twelfth prebendary, a floor was constructed in these two rooms in continuation of that of the western chamber, so as to furnish a second story over the whole with the exception of the western compartment (F).

The chamber above (A, B, C, Fig. 6) was eleven feet high, completely lined and ceiled with wainscot paneling. I have indicated the general disposition of the panelled ceiling in the Figure. It was a beautiful specimen of the domestic architecture of Chillenden's period, and it is greatly to be regretted that it should have been sacrificed when the houses were demolished. It had a handsome broad window (B), with four lights and a transom externally, close to the Treasury. A four-centred chimney-arch and chimney was placed west of the window against the Treasury wall. This chamber was reached through a plain pointed door opening to the western compartment (F, Fig. 5, and D, Fig. 6), which remains to be described.

This compartment, not divided in height by a floor, was twenty feet long from the eastern wall to the western, which is the gable-wall of the Infirmary, and in that part also common to the Prior's chapel. It was covered and bounded by the Treasury wall on the south, with the exception of an interval of five feet at the south-west corner, in which was a window, and possibly another in the north wall which filled up the pier-arch. This room, at the period of my visits, was stripped of all fittings from the ground to the roof, filled with lumber, and in darkness. It was entered by a pointed door (*l*, Fig. 5) from the Infirmary Hall, and its eastern wall had one plain pointed door (*m*) in the north-east corner, giving entrance to the passage above mentioned, which led to the dining-hall, and another (C, Fig. 6) vertically over it, which opened to the wainscoted room above. From this it must be inferred that the high room (D) we are considering originally contained a staircase and landing, giving access to the wainscot chamber at C, to the Prior's chapel at E, and by a private passage at H, to his own chambers north, which will be described hereafter.¹

¹ The square openings, E, F, G (Fig. 6), in the west gable of the Infir-

Chillenden's list (sect. 17) gives an item of "Kitchens and other conveniences for four chambers in the Firmaria;" and Archbishop Courtney (1382-96), contemporary with Chillenden, "new built the Lodgings and Kitchen belonging to the Infirmary at his own costs of 133*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*"¹

The north aisle of the Infirmary was probably fitted up with chambers like the south. But this aisle and its appendant Kitchen and offices, with the exception of the Table Hall, were entirely pulled down at the Dissolution.

7. *The Deportum.*

In Chillenden's list of buildings we find "a new place for the *Deportum*, with a celarium below."²

The word *Deportum* is not contained in any modern writer on monastic matters, but it occurs in Winchelsey's Statutes, quoted below,³ from which it is clearly shewn to mean the Hall in which the monks were allowed to eat flesh and drink freely by especial licence from their superiors. Such a place is well known to have been set apart for these indulgences in monasteries; and Duncange, defining the word *Misericordia* to mean such indulgences, applies it also, on the authority of quoted passages, to the Hall itself which was devoted to the purpose. The name *Deportum* is, in these Statutes, also used both for the indulgence and the privileged locality, and appears to be a local term.

I presume its derivation to be from *deportare*, which

mary were probably the windows of that gable before it was masked by the Cheker building and Prior's chapel. The passage marked II in Fig. 6 is now a comparatively modern construction, to give access, by a staircase entered by a door cut through the west front wall of the Infirmary (between V and U, Fig. 5), to the Library, which occupies the Prior's chapel.

¹ Battely, p. 75, quoting from the grant of a Chantry.

² (§ 16.) "Novus locus pro Deporto cum subtus celario."

³ *Vide* Wilkins's 'Concilia,' vol. ii. p. 244, etc. They are dated Jan. 1298.

Ducange interprets by *tolerare*, *favere alicui*, and by the old French *déporter*. But Johnson derives the English word *disport*, or diversion, from *déporter*. Thus the word is shewn to be a Latinization of an English expression for a place where the monks might disport themselves,—a Hall of diversion and relaxation from discipline.

As I have no intention of entering into the general history of the monastic economy, I shall in this place confine myself to the rules by which this particular *Deportum* was governed at the beginning of the fourteenth century under Winchelsey's Statutes, from the seventh chapter of which I translate the following extracts. (*Vide* Appendix No. IV. for the original text.)

The chapter is headed,

“On those who Eat and Drink in the Infirmary or elsewhere out of the Refectory:”—

.... “All monks are to abstain from eating flesh in the sight of the laity, as well in the interior as in the exterior enclosure of the House, excepting in the places hereinafter mentioned. That is to say, if they have due permission, they may partake of flesh for their own pleasure, or for companionship with others, in the Table Hall of the Infirmary,—in the chambers of the sick and infirm,—in the *Deportum*,—in the Prior's *Camera*,—and in the *Aula Hospitum*.

“And because the solace afforded by the *Deportum* and Table Hall is intended for the refreshment of the brethren, but by no means for the diminution of their victuals, we ordain that when eggs are served out to them in these retreats, they are to be allowed the same number that they are wont to have in the Refectory.

“Also, those who are admitted to the *Deportum* for refreshment and restoration of health must every day attend all processions, the third great solemn Mass, and Vespers, lest they should while away their time with idle tales and wanton jollity, as often happens.

“Also they, when eating, and, if they please, drinking together in the *Deportum* or the *Table Hall*, must, after their meal,

retire to the Choir or Cloister, and apply themselves to reading, writing, or the repetition of the services or rule, else they will be severely punished.

“And because the brethren frequently complain that sometimes twenty of their number in one day decline their *Deportum*, so that it thus often happens that only three or four being in the *Deportum* are present at the Mass of the Blessed Virgin, whereas by the approved custom of the Church eight brethren from the *Deportum* ought to be present every day :

“To remove this cause of discontent, the master of the Infirmary must, every Sunday as usual, inform eight brethren, as many of the lower as of the upper of each choir, in the order of priority, that they may take their *Deportum* if they will, in the next week. And if any one of the eight decline to accept it, he must, notwithstanding his refusal, be present every day of that week at the mass of the Blessed Mary, and on every Tuesday at the mass of the Blessed Thomas, together with those who did accept the *Deportum*, lest through his refusal the solemnity of these masses be diminished.”

It thus appears that as the insupportable tedium of the masses overbalanced the delights of the *Deportum*, the Archbishop hit upon the ingenious device of compelling the selected monks to attend the masses, but left them free to decline or accept the indulgences.

No clue is given in the documents to the position of this Hall of Disport. It is likely that it was placed over the Buttery buildings to the west of the vestibule of the Refectory, so as to be in convenient juxtaposition with the passage from the Convent Kitchen. Its existence and its rules appear to have hitherto escaped the notice of every writer on Canterbury.¹

¹ In reference to Winchester, Milner (vol. ii. p. 95) remarks that at the time of the Norman Conquest the monks of St. Swithun's were accustomed to eat meat in the Refectory ; but in consequence of the general reform of the Benedictine Order by Lanfranc in 1082, Prior Simeon abolished the use of it on ordinary occasions, allowing it only, according to the tenor of the rule, to the sick in the Infirmary. In the year 1300 (*vide* Ang. Sacra, t. i. p. 525), at a general chapter of the order held at Oxford, it was left to the superior of each monastery to grant the dispensation in question to

8. *Norman Gallery, Prior's Chapel, and Library.*

The upper Norman gallery (*q p n m*, Fig. 6), leading from the Dormitory to the Lavatory and transept, when first built was low, and lighted by small Norman windows, placed one in each severy. But amongst the repairs which were carried on under Prior Chillenden (1390–1411) are “the passage from the church to the Dormitory, with the repair of the Lavatory there, and below, a new shaving-house, leaded” (sect. 7).¹ Also (sect. 8), “the enclosure on both sides of the cloister as far as the Prior’s ‘Camera.’”

In accordance with these memoranda, the walls of the upper passage or gallery retain the outlines of the original Norman windows completely walled up. The upper Norman string-course remains, but the walls are raised seven feet higher, and provided with high transomed two-light Perpendicular windows, with Chillenden’s tracery in the head (*vide* Fig. 7). Instead of the four Norman windows, there are but two of the new ones between the Dormitory wall and the Lavatory, and these are placed without respect to the Norman arches, although they descend below the Norman buttress caps.

the members of it, according to his own discretion; but this decision was a subject of great and general scandal.

Winchelsey’s Statutes, dated 18 Cal. Jan. 1298, appear at first sight to be a consequence of the above decision, but, by a possible confusion in the date of the general chapter, they are placed nearly two years previous to the meeting of that chapter.

¹ “Via de Ecclesia ad Dormitorium . . . et subtus nova *rastura* plumbata.” The same work in the Obituary is described as “Nova via versus Ecclesiam & subtus *domus rasturæ*. . . .” The word *rastura* was therefore employed as well for a process as for the house which was devoted to it, which the following quotations shew to relate to the periodical shaving of the monks:—The ‘*Promptorium Parvulorum*’ gives “*Rastyr-howse or schavynghe house. Barbitondium.*” The ‘*Custumale Roffensis*,’ written c. 1320, has “*Saponem ministrat fratribus ad rasturam.*” A Glossary of the same period as the ‘*Promptorium*’ has “*A Raster cloth or a shavynghe cloth. Ralla.*”

The pier arches of the Lavatory tower and cylindrical wall above them, as high as the string-course, remain untouched, except by the addition of buttresses, added by Chillenden to strengthen the tower and enable it to bear his addition to the height of the walls. In my elevation I have omitted all Chillenden's buttresses excepting the eastern one. The upper story, which contained the Lavatory itself, received high windows like those of the gallery, and its cylindrical plan was altered externally to a polygonal one; retaining, however, at the angles the original Norman buttresses, in the form of a semi-cylindrical shaft against a flat pilaster, like those of the apse of St. Nicholas at Caen. They were probably finished in the same manner by a capital under the corbel table of the roof. (*Vide* Pugin's 'Normandy'). The upper termination of those of the Lavatory are altered to suit the angular form of the new walls above by capping them with a pyramidal stone. The whole building is in a very dilapidated condition. The two last buttresses on the western half are now of red brickwork, shewn in Gostling's engraving, very clumsily constructed, and the walls bound together at the angles, as shown in Fig. 7. The lower story was at first open on all sides to the Cloister-garth, excepting on the south, where it was bounded by the great Norman arch of the cloister against which it was built, which arch also remained open until Chillenden's time, as will appear below. The vault of this lower story is a unique and beautiful specimen of early rib-vaulting. It springs from a large hollow central pillar, which carried the weight of the lavatory cistern above, the pipes for which were conveyed through the middle of the pillar, as shewn in the Norman drawing, and as will be more fully explained under the head of the water-works (*vide* Chap. X.).

Returning to the gallery above, we find that the

effect of his work was to make it lofty in proportion to its breadth. It is entered from the Dormitory by a plain four-centred doorway (at *g*, Fig. 6), and is about fourteen feet high and ten feet wide, and has a low-pitched wooden roof, sustained by slender wooden four-centred arched ribs, on long legs, resting on corbels.¹ The opening (*b*) from the gallery to the Lavatory chamber is a segmental pointed archway, richly molded with the Perpendicular section of Chillenden's time, and abutting with a discontinuous impost upon the vertical sides of the high jambs, which are perfectly plain and square. The west door (*c*) of the Prior's Chapel is crowded against this opening, being placed as far north as the dimensions of the gallery would permit, in order to set it as near as possible to the centre of the west wall of the chapel. This difficulty will be understood by means of the Plan (Fig. 6).

The southern branch of the gallery has one of Chillenden's high windows on each side, and shews externally the walled-up Norman windows, resembling in every respect the architecture of the eastern branch above described. It leads straight to a doorway (*m*) in the north transept, and thus to the north door of the Cathedral Choir. The Norman roof of the gallery abutted here against the transept wall below the sill of one of the two great south windows of that transept. But when the walls were raised by Chillenden, the new roof of the gallery, if carried up to the transept wall, would have cut off the light from the lower part of this window so as to produce a disagreeable effect in the interior of the transept. To avoid this an arch is thrown across the gallery (at *n*) which carries a thin gable wall to receive the gallery roof, at a sufficient distance from the window to prevent the obstruction of its light. The

¹ This gallery owes its preservation to the convenience it offers of a dry-shod approach to the church.

small space of gallery between this arch and the transept door is flat-roofed at a lower elevation, and a glazed window is also pierced in the thin gable to give light to the gallery. At the south end of the eastern wall of the gallery is a door (*l*) which opens to a long, narrow passage built against this east wall. This originally contained a flight of stairs ascending northward to the old Library, which, as will appear below, was a chamber extending over the Prior's Chapel, and was entered by a door at its south-west corner. This narrow staircase is distinctly shewn in Johnson's plan, engraved by Hollar for the *Monasticon* (1655), which is my authority for its existence.

We may now proceed to the history of the Prior's Chapel. The *Obituary*¹ informs us that Roger de S. Elphege, Prior from 1258 to 1263, completed a chapel between the Dormitory and Infirmary, which appears to have been dedicated to the Virgin Mary.² The style of its substructure shews that it was begun by his predecessor.³ This, which is known as the Prior's Chapel, being intended for the private use of that officer, is placed on the south side of the Infirmary cloister, between the Lavatory tower and Infirmary. Its floor was on the level of the upper gallery, and was sustained by an open, vaulted ambulatory below. This replaced the portion of the original south alley which occupied, as above explained, that position. Thus the covered access from the great Cloister to the Infirmary was still preserved. But as this new substructure was more than twice as broad as the old one, the chapel was obtruded into the small cloister-garth, so as to cover part of the

¹ *Ang. Sac.* p. 140. . . . "Capellam inter Dormitorium & Infirmaryam honorifice perfecit." Its interior dimensions were 64 ft. by 21 ft.

² *Battely*, p. 91.

³ *Hasted* (vol. i. p. 440) says that in several of the windows were these words:—"Rog'us de S' Elphege dedit hanc fenestram."

façade of the Infirmary Hall, diminish the already limited area, and destroy the symmetry of its form.

Sufficient remains of the substructure of the chapel exist to shew the architecture of its walls, which were provided with strong buttresses north and south, of which only the foundations remain, and with an unglazed window between each, as in the cloisters of its period. The design of this is, however, peculiar, as the annexed elevation of one severy (Fig. 7) shews. In this I have carefully delineated the peculiar disposition of the masonry, stone for stone. The great buttresses have been long since pulled down, leaving only their foundations. The corbels that supported the vaults still remain on the inside of the walls. But the vault itself, which sustained the pavement of the chapel, and rested on four piers in the middle of the space (as shewn in the Plan, Fig. 5), was destroyed at the end of the seventeenth century, when the chapel was pulled down to the level of its floor, and the present incongruous Library built of brick, in the style of that time.¹

No trace of the original architecture of the chapel itself has been left, with the exception of the Early English western door (*c*, Fig. 6), which opens into the gallery at the angle between its west and south branches, close to the Lavatory tower. But the style of the whole must, by its date, have been late Early English.

At the east end of the chapel, which is bounded by the gable wall of the Infirmary, a Perpendicular doorway (*F*, Fig. 6) through that wall remains at the north corner. Another of similar style (*S*), at the east end of the south wall, leads over a bridge (*T*) to the vestibule of the Treasury. These doorways, inserted by Chillenden, will be explained below.

The next work to be considered in relation to the

¹ This Library will be pulled down now that the new building on the site of the Dormitory is completed.

Chapel is the ancient Library, for the Obituary, by recording that Prior William Selling (1472–94) “adorned the Library, which is placed over the Prior’s Chapel, with very beautiful carved work,”¹ informs us of its connection with the chapel.

But Godwin relates of Archbishop Chichely (1414–43), that after spending a large sum in the repair of the Library of his Cathedral, he bestowed upon it many excellent books; and Somner, writing in 1640, before the original chapel was taken down to make way for the present building, tells us “that over this Chapel is the Church Library . . . built by Archbishop Chichely, and borrowed from the chapel or superadded to it, the juniority of the work and the passage to it plainly intimate so much.”²

It is evident, from Somner’s words, that the difference of architectural style between the Chapel itself and the Library was so great, as even to strike the antiquaries of that time; and we may therefore conclude, that the original open Early English roof of the Chapel had been removed on account of decay, in Chichely’s time, and that the opportunity was embraced of constructing above it a chamber for the reception of the monastic library, after the manner of that period, by substituting for the high roof a flat ornamental ceiling, with a floor above it for the Library, raising the walls to supply windows, and covering the whole with a flattened roof of the Perpendicular pattern. Such a work would correspond exactly with the above description quoted from Somner.

The access to it was supplied by the long staircase, built against the east wall of the Norman gallery, mentioned above (p. 65).

¹ “*Librarium supra Capellam Prioris situatum perpulerâ cœlaturâ adornavit.*”—*Wharton, Ang. Sac.* 145.

² ‘*Battely’s Somner*,’ p. 96.

In the sixteenth century this Library was greatly injured by a fire, which is only recorded by an allusion in John Twine's 'Commentaries on the Affairs of Albion.' This writer died at Canterbury in 1581, and his tract was published by his son, in London, 1590. At page 113 he laments a conflagration, which had happened not many years previously, in the precincts of the Cathedral, which, besides other edifices, had burnt the celebrated library founded by Archbishop Theodore, amplified by many succeeding benefactors, and completed by Archbishop Chichely. Amongst many thousand books consumed was a manuscript of 'Cicero de Republica.' This fire happened in the reign of Elizabeth, as the date of the writers quoted above shews.¹

Prior Goldston (1495-1517), the successor of Selling, "embellished the Prior's Chapel with divers ornaments, and bequeathed to his successors, to their infinite convenience and delectation, an Oratory annexed to the said Chapel, with an enclosure contiguous to the north part of the church, for hearing the Masses performed in it."²

Now, in the distribution of houses in 1546, the Dean's portion is described thus:—"From the Chapell doore next y^e Dortor to have y^e Chapell wth y^e *Closet*, etc., appertaining to y^e Prior. . . ." But in the description of King's College chapel in the will of Henry VI., it is said there shall be "... betwix every boterace in the body of the chirche . . . a *closette* wth an auter therein,

¹ Somner (1640) does not allude to this fire, but merely states that the Library was, by the founder and others, once well stored with books, but, in man's memory, shamefully robbed and spoiled of them all.

Hasted (Hist. of Kent, p. 579) says, that "many of the manuscripts which suffered by the above fire remain in the same mutilated state as at their first removal (though many of them might with care be recovered) in a heap on the floor, in one of the rooms over the vestry of the church." But he, in his descriptions, mistakes the substructure for the chapel itself, and supposes the original Library to have been on the same floor as the present red brick building.

² Obituary. Ang. Sac. 145.

conteyning in lenghte xx fete and in brede x fete." The word closet in the Distribution document, therefore, may be interpreted to mean a small chapel or oratory, and manifestly applies to the Oratory constructed by Goldston, to which he appended an enclosure containing a Hagioscopic apparatus.

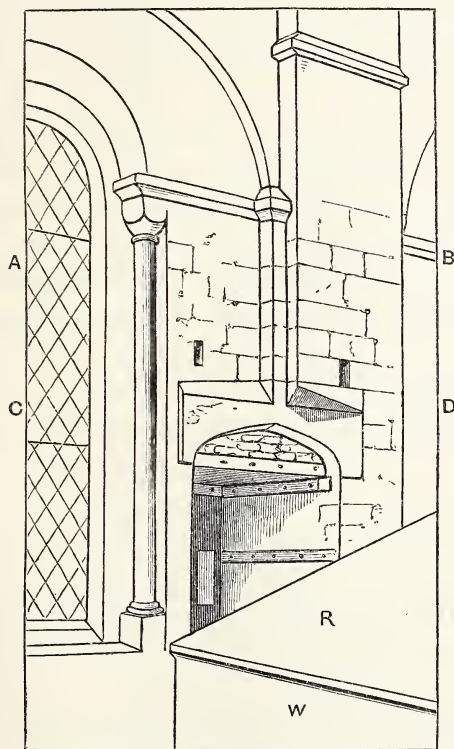


Fig. 8.¹

Sufficient remains of this ingenious contrivance exist in the gable of the north-east transept, to enable the arrangement of the Oratory and its enclosure to be recovered. Viewing this gable from the outside, there appears a large recess (shewn in the annexed sketch, Fig. 8) sunk into the substance of the wall, partly

¹ *Vide* Explanatory Note, Appendix.

encroaching upon the central Norman flat buttress. This is carried so far into the wall as to leave only a very thin wall of ashlar on the side next the interior of the transept. In this wall, three hagioscope-slits,¹ *spying-pipes*, or *squints*, as they are called in old English, are pierced, and are visible within the Cathedral, at a height of about ten feet above the pavement. A fourth, pierced diagonally through the east side of the chamber, opens in the west jamb of the window, as shewn in the annexed sketch and plan (at page 72). Mr. Faussett having kindly, at my request, explored the chamber for the purpose of taking dimensions and examining the exact points to which the squints are directed, which I had no opportunity of doing when I first discovered it and made the sketch (Fig 8),² has supplied me with the particulars contained in the note below,³ by the

¹ They appear in Britton's elevation of the interior, but with no explanation or notice, pl. 11.

² In this figure the wall, W, and roof, R, are those of the comparatively modern staircase, 3, 2, Fig. 5.

³ "The chamber is nearly square, but slightly broader than its depth (five feet wide, and four feet two inches deep on the left side). It is ceiled with rough old boards, probably once covered with panelling, and is six feet seven inches in height. Round its three sides run four equidistant horizontal battens, one quite at the ceiling, another quite at the floor, and obviously used for fastening either panelling or hangings to; the two middle battens stop short, however, where the three squints are inserted in the back wall, and, indeed, the upper one of the two if continued would cross the squints. These three squints, *b*, *c*, and *d* (Fig. 10), are cut through ashlar about a foot thick; *a* is cut through a thicker wall, and emerges into the transept in the splay of the large easternmost window of this its north gable-wall. *a* commands the altar of St. Martin; *b* the altar of St. Stephen; *c* looks directly at a spot on the choir-screen two or three feet to the west of its doorway leading from this transept, and commands also the doorway; —it is noticeable that at this spot a small stone table is fixed to the screen; *d* commands the arch-space which leads from the transept westward down the aisle. The object of *c* and *d* is not very apparent; they are not high enough for one to see with any effect into the choir over the closed lower part of Eastry's screen, though they might command any raised object there through its open upper part.

"The dimensions (in inches) of the openings are shewn in the following table:—

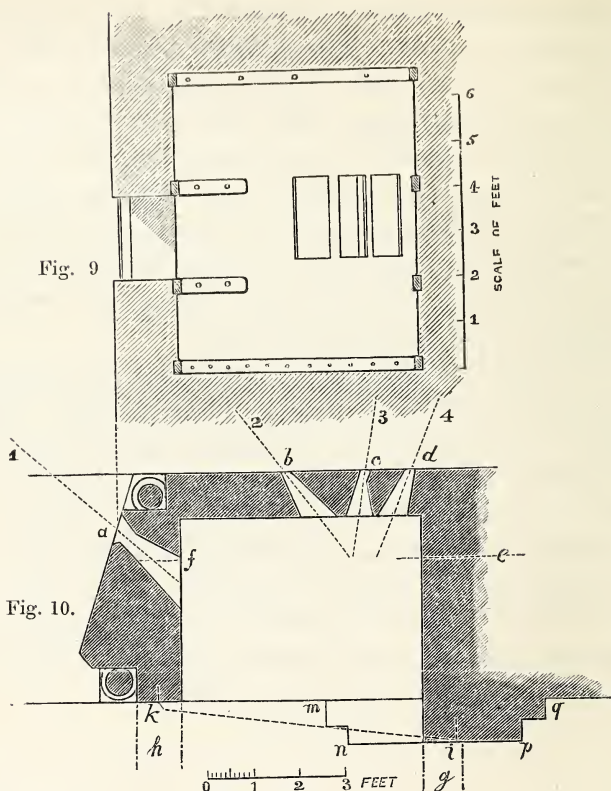
help of which I have constructed the elevation and plan in Figs. 9 and 10. The vertical scale of feet to Fig. 9 shews that the sills of the small slits, or squints, are at a convenient height and width to receive and support the clasped hands of a person kneeling in front of them. The ceiling of the chamber is just high enough to allow a standing person to look downwards through the slits. Through these openings, a person stationed in the recess could see, if not hear, the Masses in the transeptal chapels below in perfect privacy.

The recess itself is now perfectly open to the air, as it rises above the tiled roof of the passage. The head of the opening is a four-centred arch, inserted in the Norman wall. But above it are seen mortices cut in that wall, to receive the woodwork of the roof of the apartment which was necessarily built in front of it to complete it and make it accessible. It is also evident that a thin wall, in the position of the present one, must have been built so as to abut against the transept gable, enclose this chamber, and carry its roof.

	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>d</i>
Height of sill from floor	26 $\frac{1}{2}$	29	29	29
Width at entrance	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	7	7 $\frac{3}{4}$
Outer width	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	2	2
Height	21 $\frac{1}{2}$	23	23	23

“The tops of the openings are horizontal. The lower surfaces, or sills of *b, c, d*, slope very slightly downwards towards the church, at the rate of about half an inch to a foot. That of *a* is horizontal. Squint *a* reaches its narrowest before its outward extremity, both sides being splayed outwards near the outside, the south side some five inches before it reaches the outside, the north side perhaps one inch and a half before doing so. But the south outward splay is parallel with the north side, and the north splay a mere chamfer about an inch and a half broad, to avoid the acute edge which would have been produced by the meeting of the north side with the face of the window-jamb, as the plan shews.

“Squint *c* also has its west side splayed outwards some three inches before its outer extremity, the splayed part running parallel with its north side.—T. G. F.”



The Oratory, or closet, to which this contrivance was subservient, must necessarily have been on the south side of the Prior's Chapel.¹ But in Johnson's plan, already quoted, drawn when the Prior's Chapel was still in existence, there is a square building laid down in the angle between the Norman passage and Chapel, the foundations of which are still visible (at L, Fig. 5), about sixteen feet square, which must be the substructure of the closet or oratory in question. The latter (*e*, Fig. 6) was entered, of course, from the Prior's Chapel by a lateral door at *d*, and had another door opposite to lead

¹ In Fig. 6, at *d*, *e*, *f*, *g*, I have restored this hitherto unnoticed arrangement in accordance with my explanation of it.

directly to the hagioscopic chamber *g* by steps, in a passage *f* running parallel to the Norman passage. As the floor of the recess is only about five feet above that of the passage, few steps would be required.

After the Reformation, the slits became useless, and their external enclosure and passage were allowed to fall into decay, or destroyed by the Puritans; and when the Prior's Chapel was taken down, and the present brick Library erected in its stead, about 1700, the long staircase that led from the arched east door of the Norman gallery to the ancient Library became also thrown out of use. But about 1720 the present staircase, 1, 2, 3 (Plan, Fig. 5), which leads from the old chapel cloister under the Library up to this door, and thus to the church, was built for the convenience of the families of the prebendaries and other Cathedral officers dwelling within the precinct.¹ The long landing (4) which remains, and appears superfluous, is simply the site of the staircase of the old Library, as already shewn.

The enclosure of the cloister under the Chapel, mentioned in the list of Chillenden's works (Appendix No. VI. sect. 8), means the filling up of the lateral archways by walls, rising high enough to keep off the dreary blasts of wind that must have annoyed the monks, especially the sick and infirm, that had to pass along this road from the great Cloister to the Infirmary. Indeed, we find that in the later cloisters, glazed tracery was often employed instead of the open arches and open tracery used in the earlier examples. This particular cloister, being open on both sides, was espe-

¹ This staircase is shewn in Dart's plan of the Cathedral, 1727, which is copied from Johnson's, with a few alterations where required. The old Library staircase is retained in this plan, but perhaps because the artist forgot to erase it from Johnson's plan when he inserted the new staircase, I have inserted it in the ground plan, Fig. 5, to preserve the memory of it, but in the first floor plan, Fig. 6, have omitted it, and given the restoration of the ancient private oratory, etc., described above.

cially exposed to this cause of discomfort. The new enclosing walls were carried up to the level of the neck-mold of the Early English cloister arches, six or seven feet above the original pavement, leaving the arches open. (*Vide* the arch of the substructure of the Prior's chapel in Fig. 7.)¹ The east walk, in front of the Infirmary, was also apparently walled-up, and also the arches of the Lavatory tower. Indeed, the arches immediately opposite to the Infirmary door were actually replaced by a wall, provided with a Perpendicular window of two lights (Fig. 16). Possibly this was the beginning of a series, which would have transformed this beautiful arcade into a glazed gallery.

9. *Vestiarium*.

The Treasury, under the name of *Vestiarium*, is shewn in the Norman drawing, where it appears with a substructure of two open arches, surmounted by an upper story of windows. Thus far the drawing is in accordance with the real building. But the upper story is drawn so disproportionately low that it is only by the insertion of these windows that we are made aware of the existence of a chamber over the arches. It is surmounted by a high-pitched roof, with a ridge and hips.

The style of the actual building is in advance of Conrad's work, but is pure round-arched Norman of a late character, with ribbed vaults. The capitals are carved in the style of those of Anselm's chapel. The two external faces of the building are alike divided into two severies.² Each severy has an open arch below, to give admission to the substructure, which is open for passage on the east and west faces. The story above, which is the Treasury

¹ The engravings given by Gostling and Storer shew the arches of the Norman cloister and Lavatory in this condition.

The plan of the substructure is given in Fig. 5, and that of the Treasury itself in Fig. 6.

chamber, has one window in each sever, and is faced externally with an ornamental triple arcade of two lateral blind arches, with the window arch in the midst.

The chamber has a high domical vault, the crown of which is nine or ten feet above the heads of the window. The external wall which surrounds this vault is ornamented with a belt of arcading, the pattern of which is the same, with a slight variation, as that which is carried round the walls of the Ernulfian choir, under the aisle windows, and which I have identified with his work at Rochester.¹ The variation in the Treasury arcade consists in the employment of small compound piers, formed of a pilaster, with a small shaft and capital on each side, instead of the single shafts of the earlier work. Similar compound piers occur in the arcade-work of the upper stories of Anselm's tower (Britton, pls. xxii. and v.), and of the stair-tower of the north-eastern transept, in the part that begins from the clerestory level upwards. These minor works, as well as the Treasury, are not recorded. The former were apparently carried slowly on, as funds could be spared. But the Treasury being important, as a fire-proof repertory for the safe keeping of the rich ornaments, relics, and documents of a church, which in the early ages had been deprived of its Papal Bulls and charters by the conflagration in 1067,² must have been undertaken as soon as possible after the enlargement of the Church was completed, probably after its dedication, which took place in 1130. It is remarkable that in the history of the second conflagration, in 1174, no stress is laid upon the destruction of church ornaments or documents. Only those appear to have suffered that were in use in the Church.

The Treasury building, which we are considering, is placed between the north wall of St. Andrew's chapel,

¹ Arch. Hist. of Cant. Cath. p. 87. A view of the east wall of the Treasury is given by Storer.

² Arch. Hist. of Cant. Cath. p. 9.

which it exactly covers, and the south side-aisle wall of the Infirmary hall. These two walls are not parallel, for the chapel, being attached to the apse of the church, is in a position radiating from the centre of that apse, which causes its outer wall to incline to the south-east instead of the true east. The wall of the Infirmary happens to incline slightly in the same manner.

But, although built upon a site bounded by two pre-existing walls, it is an independent structure. The portion of the Infirmary aisle-wall employed was probably rebuilt from the foundation, because it required to be of more than double the height of the former, and of strength to resist the vaulting of the new building. Also each inside face of the Treasury chamber is fortified by a strong pier in the middle, which divides it into two deep-arched recesses, and acts as an internal buttress.

The Treasury building stands nearly square to the Infirmary wall. But the inclination of the north gable-wall of the chapel of St. Andrew causes that wall to make an angle of about fifteen degrees with the south wall of the Treasury. On that side of the chamber this inclination is shewn by the unequal depth of the arched recesses, and the portions of the gable-wall which back these recesses shew ornamental work of windows and walls, which prove that when the gable was built it was intended to stand free, like that of St. Anselm, on the opposite side of the Cathedral.

Against the back of the deeper recess (Y, Fig. 6) an arch is built which at first sight appears to be a flying buttress, but which really carries a staircase, built in the angle between the chapel and the Treasury, which leads to the chamber over the Treasury vault.¹ The Treasury,

¹ This staircase is entered by a door in St. Andrew's Chapel, the present vestry. But the lower part of the staircase, which projected inconveniently into it, having been pulled down, the opening of the staircase can now only be reached by means of a ladder.

when first completed, had an entrance from St. Andrew's chapel cut through the gable. On the Treasury side it now appears in the form of a debased perpendicular arch, walled up, in the western recess, at X, Fig. 6. On the chapel side it has a late pointed arch, within which, under a tympanum, is a debased arch, resting on two Norman jambs, the whole constructed with stones taken from elsewhere.¹

I have said that the interior of the Treasury chamber presents to view, on each of its sides, two plain Norman arched recesses, separated by a central pier. Each pier has on its face a respond-shaft with a carved capital. But the north and south piers are wider and deeper than the east and west piers, and rise upwards, interpenetrating the vault. A semicircular rib-arch extends across the chamber from each capital to its direct opposite. Also, from each angle of the chamber, a rib-arch of the same section extends across the chamber to its diagonally opposite angle. These four arches intersect in the centre of the vault, where they are received upon a circular keystone. The diagonal arches spring from the same level as the circular ones, but, to allow for their greater span, they are of an elliptical form. The result is, a group of eight vault-ribs, all rising from the same level, and meeting at their highest point. The ribs form the skeleton of a dome, square in plan, but semicircular in its transverse sections. This dome is divided by its ribs into eight triangular segments, meeting in the centre, and each bounded outwards by one of the arched recesses of the wall. The vaulting-surface of each segment rests outwards on the extrados

¹ In the eastern recess, at Y, Fig. 6, Mr. Faussett has observed the traces of an earlier breach, as for a door, completely walled up on both sides, and conjectures, with great probability, that the Norman jambs above described were removed from this position to their present one when the chambers over the Treasury were built, and the staircase leading to them from the chapel was placed so as to cover this earlier entrance.

or outer line of the recessed arch of the wall, and laterally upon the transverse and diagonal semi-arch, which meet at the crown. The vaulting surface is therefore concave. A ribbed vault of this kind is termed octopartite, having eight vaulting cells.

This noble and unique room is twenty feet high, twenty-four wide from east to west, and twenty-two from north to south. On the west side its windows have been obstructed by buildings erected against it, described below.

This is the earliest building of the Canterbury group in which diagonal rib-vaulting appears. The vault of the substructure is also ribbed, but is sustained by a central pier, from which four arches spring to the middle responds of the outer walls, dividing the whole vault into four squares of ordinary vaulting with diagonal ribs (*vide* Fig. 5). This substructure, corresponding to the crypt of Conrad's choir, brings the floor of the Vestiarium, or Treasury, to a level with the upper church, the Prior's chapel, etc.

It must also be observed that a chamber above the Treasury was added about the end of the thirteenth century, which is easily distinguished on the outside from the original by its rough walls. It is lighted by plain two-light windows, of De Estria's time, and covered with a low-pitched roof. But the gable-wall of St. Andrew's Chapel retains, in this chamber, grooves and mortices sunk in its surface, and cutting through its original decorative architecture, which shew that the primitive roof of the Treasury was high-pitched and abutted against that wall. The floor of this chamber was formed by filling up the pockets of the great domical vault with earth and rubbish, so as to obtain a level surface. The chamber is reached by means of a narrow staircase, constructed as above described, between the chapel and Treasury.

To explain the names given to the Treasury it must be remarked, that in the middle ages *Vestiarium* and *Treasury* were synonymous terms, for the first is defined by Ducange to be a place used not only for keeping of vestments, but also the valuable ornaments and vessels, and even money, of the church. "*Locus ubi non modo vestes asservantur sed etiam cimelia, atque adeo thesaurus et pecuniæ.*" The officer in charge was *Vestiarius*, who similarly had the care of the vestments, ornaments, and treasures. The *Vestiarium* of the Norman drawing had obtained, for this reason, the English name of the *Treasury* in later ages, and, as Somner tells us, was also known to former times by the name of *Armarium*, or *Armariolum*. It was also termed, in other places, *Secretarium*, and its keeper *Sacrista*. After the dissolution of the monastery, the chapel of St. Andrew, becoming useless, was fitted up as a vestry for the Dean and Prebendaries, and the old *Vestiarium* reserved for church records, as at present. The rooms over the vault of the latter were also, in Somner's time, employed for this purpose.

Adjoining the west wall of St. Andrew's Chapel and the *Treasury*, a narrow room is shewn in the early plan of Johnson, and labelled *Auditorium exterius*, the *Treasury* itself being labelled *Auditorium interius*. This outer Audit-room (V, Fig. 6) has a door in its south corner pierced through the wall to the stair-turret (Z) of St. Andrew, and another (U), which is an ancient transomed door, into the *Treasury* or inner Audit-room. As the stair-turret is entered from the Cathedral aisle by a door, the outer room was made accessible from that aisle, and also the *Treasury* itself. This outer room has a third door, in its north corner, which is connected with the south-west door of the Prior's Chapel by a narrow passage, which as at present, must have been a covered bridge.

The term *Auditorium* was applied to this chamber and the *Treasury* after the dissolution of the Priory,

when they were used for auditing the accounts of the Chapter, and capitular business in general. But about 1720, the incongruous Audit-house (J, Fig. 5, and W, Fig. 6), which now covers the ancient site of the narrow *Auditorium exterius*, but extended westward and northward so as to form a chamber of sufficient capacity for business, was built. It is entered by the ancient way from the Cathedral aisle, but the stair-turret through which that way passed was deprived of the spiral stairs, and now resembles a dry well. The mode of communication at the north side, by an enclosed or "tubular" bridge (r, Fig. 6), with the Prior's chapel, was also retained, that being the Chapter Library, which was convenient as an anteroom to the Audit-house.

Under this modern Audit-house is a smaller ancient substructure (*vide* H, Fig. 6), in the angle between the Norman stair-turret and the west wall of the crypt of St. Andrew's chapel, which is bounded on the north and west by two open Norman arches. It is vaulted with narrow, diagonal, chamfered ribs, much later than the arches. This structure is fifteen feet wide externally, which exactly corresponds to the width of Johnson's *Auditorium exterius* by his scale. It also joins the stair-turret of St. Andrew, in the same manner as in Johnson's plan. But in length it only reaches to the end of the wall of St. Andrew's chapel. A similar compartment of vaulting (as at I, Fig. 5) would have carried it exactly to the centre of the west wall of the Treasury, where it would have abutted against the central pier of its subvault. But the present Audit-house extends beyond the older one westward and northward, as the plan shews. It can scarcely be doubted that the Norman substructure we are considering is part of the foundation of the building represented by Johnson,¹ and its only purpose could be

The ribs and vault of this substructure are much later than the piers, and indicate a reconstruction of the original vault.

to supply a passage from the Cathedral aisle to the Treasury, which, without this gallery, could only have been entered by the door already described through the double wall which separates St. Andrew's chapel from the Treasury chamber.

The doorway (V, Fig. 6) between it and the Treasury, which is still in use, is an ancient square-headed opening, with concave corbels. Viewed from the interior of the Treasury chamber this doorway is evidently seen to have been an insertion in the wall made after the completion of that chamber. For the upper part of a round-headed window, like the other windows of the chamber but walled up, is seen above the great transom stones which now form the lintel of the doorway.

The substructure of this ancient vestibule, consisting of piers with open arches, spaced so as to conform in position with those of the substructure of the Treasury, offered no obstruction to the thoroughfare from the great and small Cloisters to the cemetery of the monks. But when the modern Audit-house was built, its substructure introduced more piers in front of the Treasury, which evidently made it necessary to remove the northern half of the ancient substructure, in order to clear a sufficient passage through the Treasury vaults into the "gymewes" beyond, as the old cemetery was termed.¹

The abovementioned communication from the vestibule to the Prior's chapel by a covered passage or tubular bridge, shewn in Johnson's plan, enters the chapel by the south-eastern door (S); which is an insertion of the fifteenth century, with moldings identical with those of the south-east door (l) of the Norman gallery, that anciently led, by the long staircase, to the old Library. This door was plainly inserted to give access to the tubular bridge. But, as a previous door might have existed, it gives no clue to the date of this connection

¹ *Vide* 'Distribution Document,' Appendix, No. VIII.

between the chapel and vestibule, which was evidently arranged to supply the Prior with a private and direct passage from his own *camera*, or *mansion*, through his chapel, to the Cathedral and Treasury.

10. *Second Dormitory and Third Dormitory or Necessarium.*

In the Norman drawing we find the eastern half of the south boundary of the *Curia* occupied by a long building, labelled *Necessarium*, a title which sufficiently explains its purpose.

The ruins on the site of this portentous edifice were sufficient to enable me, in my early visits to the site, to recover great part of its arrangements and dimensions. It was a Norman Hall, with a frontage to the court of 155 feet externally. The height of the wall was thirty feet from the original base to the top. At the east end a transverse wall (*a b*, Fig. 12) separates a passage ten feet wide, which is the north end of the Prior's Entry. The frontage was still further extended eastward by the Norman building which was surmounted by the Prior's chamber called the Gloriet.

At the west end this Hall was joined to the great Dormitory,¹ but projected fifteen feet in advance, and its frontage at that end is terminated by a square turret (H Z). The Hall was reached from the Dormitory by a door, P, in the east wall of the latter, which opened to a vestibule against the south-west end of the Hall, from

¹ In the Norman drawing the *Necessarium* is detached from the Dormitory. This is an undoubted error; for the ruins are so distinctly preserved at the point of junction of the two buildings as to leave no possible doubt of the fact of their union. *Vide* Fig. 11. In this sketch it will be seen that the gable of the Hall has a window in the form of a *vesica piscis*, with the longest diameter horizontal. This is the only example of such a window that I am aware of. Its moldings, delineated in the corner of the engraving, shew it to be Norman.

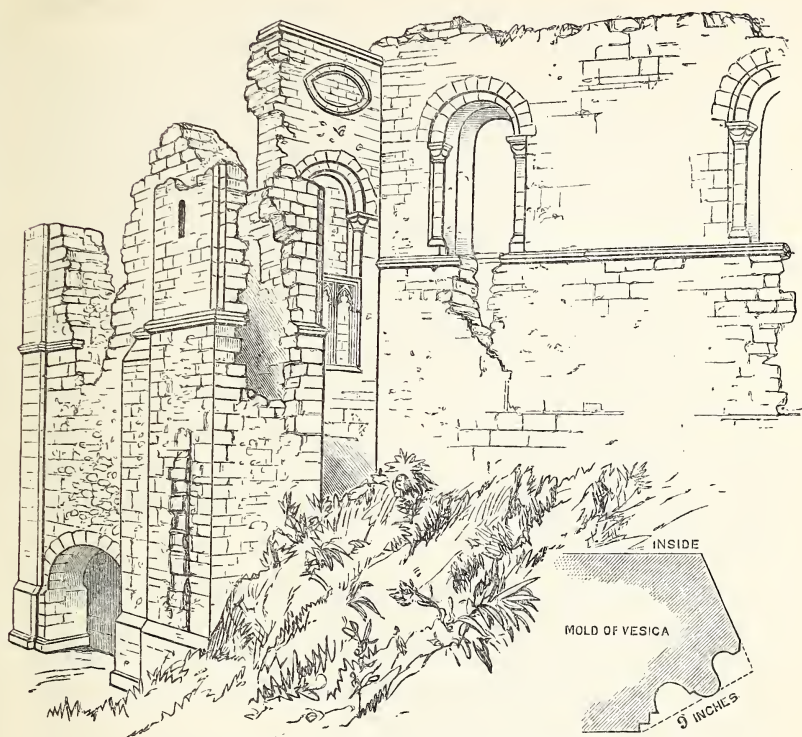


Fig. 11.—REMAINS OF THIRD AND FIRST DORMITORIES.

which a second door, C, in the wall of the Hall, gave entrance to the latter, as shewn in my Plan (Fig. 12).

In the ancient plan of St. Gall,¹ this office, so essential to cleanliness and health, appears in several parts of the monastery. The dormitory is provided with one in the form of a square enclosure, connected to it by a long passage from the south-eastern corner of the great building. It has a *lucerna*, or lamp, marked in a corner of its plan, opposite to a range of *sedilia*, indicated by two parallel lines crossed by others, which shew the number of cells to have been only nine. The guest-house, the school, the Abbot's house, the bloodletting-

house, the infirmary, and the Novices' convent, are each carefully provided with these conveniences.

Remains of them may be observed in all monastic ruins, for they were substantially constructed of masonry with architectural character, and no attempt was made to disguise or conceal them. They have usually been converted or worked into prebendal houses, as at Canterbury, Worcester,¹ Durham, etc. In all cases, a water-course was led through them from one end to the other. This characteristic is a useful guide to distinguish this particular building in monastic ruins.

The arrangement of the interior of our Hall will be made more intelligible by quoting the account of the similar place at the monastery of Durham, preserved in the 'Rites of Durham' (p. 72), which follows the description of the Dorter:—

“Also there was a faire large house and a most decent place, adjoyninge to the west syde of the said Dorter towardses the water, for the monnkes and Novices to resort unto, called the Privies, which was maide with two greate pillers of stone that did beare up the whole floore therof.

“And every seate and partition was of wainscott, close of either syde, verie decent, so that one of them could not see one another when they weare in that place.

“There was as many seates of privies on either syde as there is little wyndowes in the walls, which wyndowes was to gyve leighte to every one of the said seates.

“Which afterward was walled up to make the howse more close, and in the height of the west end there was iij fair glass wyndowes, and in the southe syde, in the hight over the said seates is another faire glass wyndowe, which greate wyndowes doth gyve leighte to all the whole house.”

We may now return to Canterbury, and describe the inner structure of its *Necessarium* (*vide* Section, Fig. 13). The interior of the Hall was originally 145 feet in length, and its breadth 25 feet. A strong, low, longitudinal wall

¹ Arch. Journal, vol. xx. p. 301.



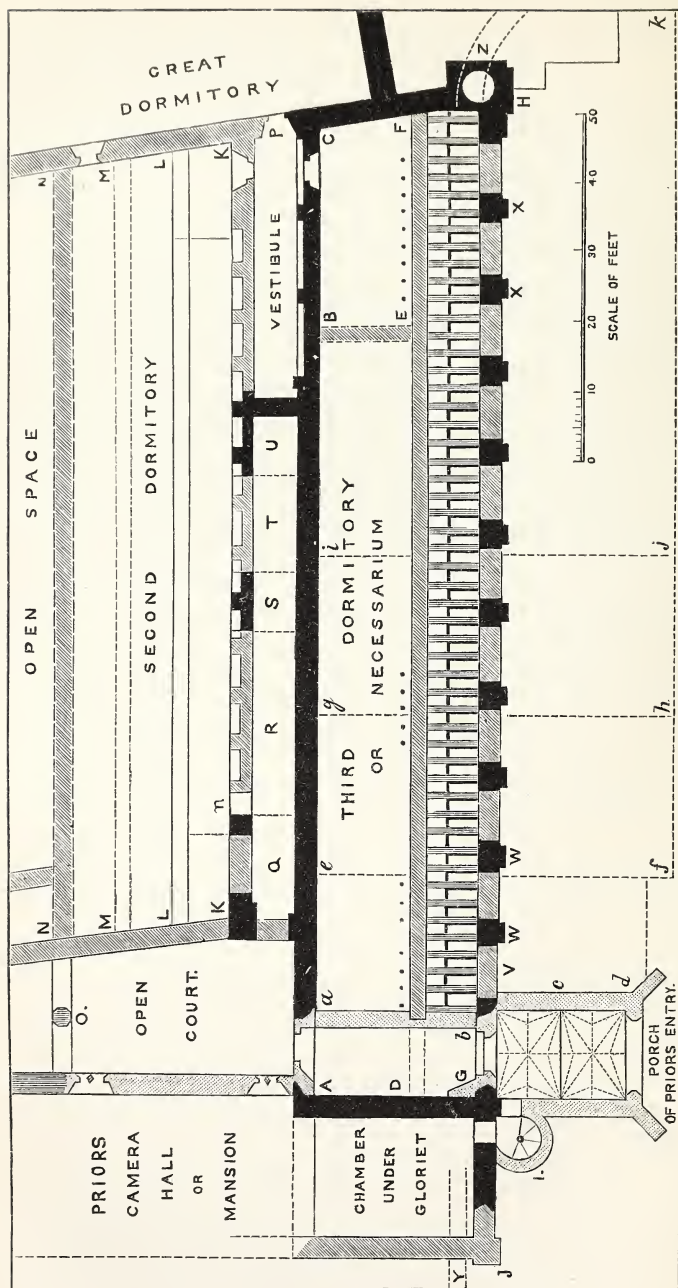


Fig. 12.—PLAN OF SECOND AND THIRD DORMITORIES, WITH ADJACENT BUILDINGS.

(C D) separated the lower part into two portions of unequal breadth, the northern seven feet wide, the southern fourteen feet. The latter was filled with earth for the greater part of its length, to the height of the division-wall (C D), upon which earth the pavement was laid at a level coinciding, or nearly so, with that of the Dormitory. The height of the wall from this pavement was fifteen feet. The northern compartment formed a channel or fosse, which was bridged over by a row of seats, originally fifty-five in number. But in the thirteenth or following centuries the low passage (*vide* Fig. 12) or Prior's Entry which leads from the Green Court to the Infirmary Cloister was constructed under the floor of the Necessarium Hall, by building the wall *a b*. By this alteration five seats were destroyed, reducing the total number to fifty.

The conversion of this Hall into a Refectory for the officials of the new foundation at the dissolution, as will presently appear, explains the entire destruction of the partitions and seats which belonged to its primitive employment. All these fittings, whether of stone or wood, were levelled to a height corresponding with the floor of the southern half of the room. But sufficient portions of the masonry by which these partitions were sustained above the fosse remain in several places to the present time, to enable the construction of the whole to be understood.

A series of thin arches of masonry (A B, Fig. 13), the upper lines or horizontal extrados of which correspond with the level of the present floor, cross the upper part of the fosse. These arches are eight inches thick, and nearly two feet asunder; and the series extended from one end to the other of the Hall. Thus its floor was provided with a series of narrow, rectangular openings above the fosse, the distance from the centre of one to that of the other being two feet seven inches, which is

three inches wider than that allowed for the stalls of the choir. The length of each opening is contracted at the south end by the introduction of a small, flat vault, connecting the lateral arches in a manner shewn by the drawing (Fig. 14), which represents a series of nine of

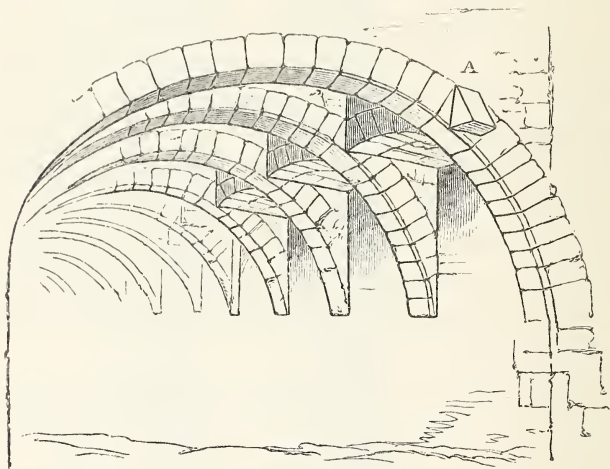
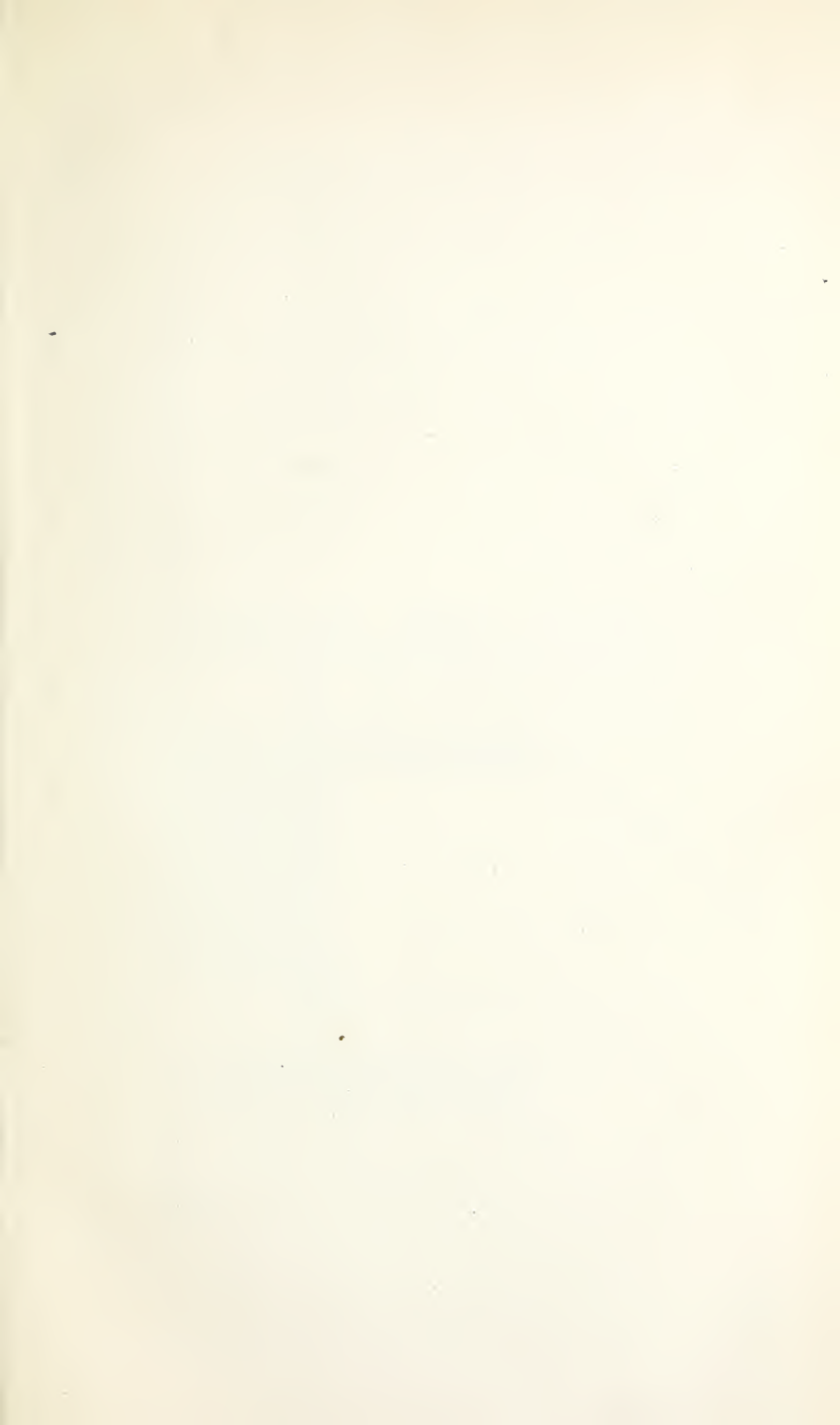


Fig. 14.—SUBVAULTS OF THIRD DORMITORY.

these arches, near the west end of the original series. These were preserved in the cellars of the twelfth prebendal house, and still remain in the ruins, as do eight others, near the eastern extremity of the series, in the house now assigned to the master of the choristers. Six others, shewn in the plan, remained in the cellars of the minor canon's houses, destroyed in my recollection. The distances of these groups shewed that they were the remains of a continued series, extending along the whole north side of the Hall.¹

It is manifest that the thin bridges sustained the partitions (probably of wood) which separated the cells. A

¹ In the Plan, Fig. 12, I have indicated the places of the bridges that remained when I first examined this structure, by placing a small dot opposite to each of them.



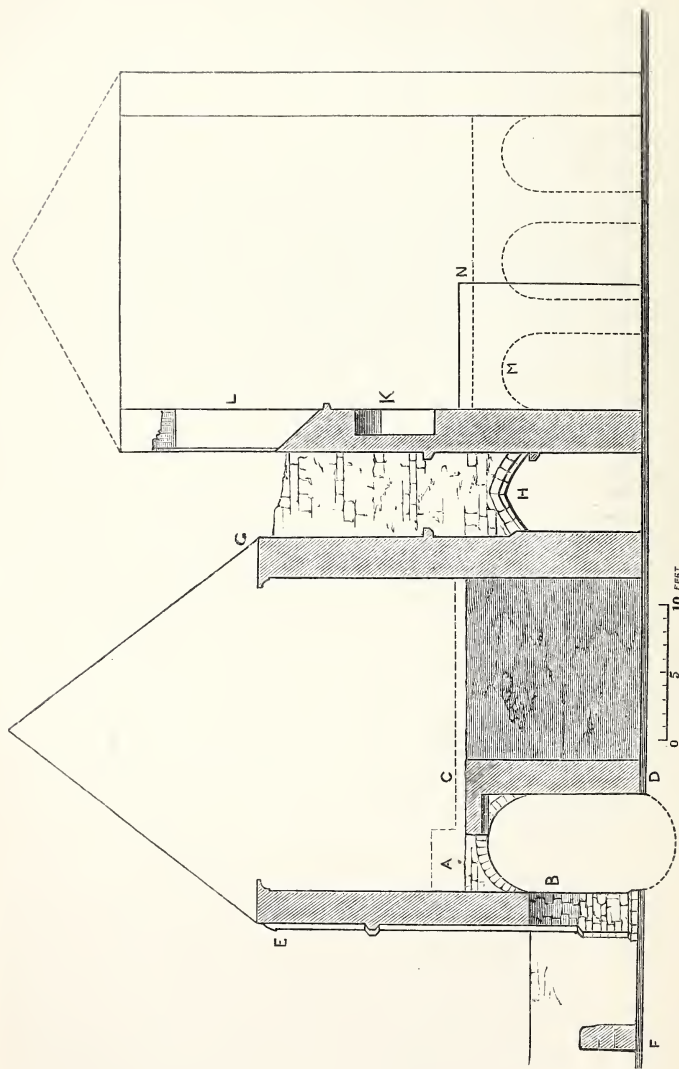


Fig. 13. SECOND DORMITORY.

Fig. 13. THIRD DORMITORY.

long partition of wood, with doors, was carried by the south wall (C D Fig. 13) of the fosse,¹ and the wooden seats (A) were erected against the north wall, immediately above the narrow openings, and framed into the partitions.

The form of the bottom of the fosse (B D) has not been ascertained, but must have been concave. It was supplied by a running stream, produced by turning the waste-water and rain-water of the monastery into this channel (*vide* Chap. X. on 'Waterworks'). The north wall rests on a series of arches (B), one of which is shewn in the perspective Sketch (Fig. 11). These were probably walled up, as one of them, at V, Fig. 12, is at present, and another at the west end.²

In the documents, the epithets applied to the name Dormitory shew that more than one conventual building bore that name. Thus, in the Obituary, Chillenden is said to have repaired the *Magnum Dormitorium*. In the decree of Chapter, 1547, it was ordered that the *Great Dortor* be taken down, and the materials employed in building lodgings for the Petty Canons and Vicars: in describing the aqueduct repaired by Chillenden, its course is traced "to the head of the *third Dormitory*, where it is turned into the aqueduct in

¹ The 'Revue Archéologique' for 1850 (t. 7, p. 717) contains a description, with engraving, of the ruins of the Abbaye de Maubuisson by M. Herard. Amongst these are the remains of a *Latrine* of precisely similar construction. An extremely deep fosse is formed partly by high walls and partly by sinking into the ground. The upper part, at the level of the floor, is covered by a series of parallel, thin bridging-arches, as at Canterbury (but pointed instead of circular). These are joined by stone slabs (corresponding to the small vaults in our example), and thus form a flat, level floor pierced by parallel slits, over which the seats were placed. But no fragment of construction remains above this floor to shew their real form. The *Latrine* is joined to the corner of the *Dortoir des Novices*, in the same way as at Canterbury.

² There were twelve of these arches originally, of which the easternmost was destroyed when the Prior's entry was made. The piers W, W, X, X, still remain, and some other intermediate ones still existed in my memory.

the *third Dormitory*.”¹ Gostling, who entirely misconceives the construction of the Great Dormitory,² also mentions the “Little Dortor;” but as I have never met with that epithet in the documents, I presume he inferred it by contrast, from the existence of a Great Dortor, as we may more reasonably suppose that a *third Dormitory* implies the existence of two others. But the mention of the aqueduct *in* the “Third Dormitory” identifies that name with the *Necessarium*, into the fosse of which the rain-water from the roofs of the Convent and the waste of the waterworks was turned at the east end, as above mentioned, and passing out at the west was conveyed under the Green Court into the town ditch. The name is probably a cant one,³ perhaps derived from the habit of dozing in the recesses of this apartment, which may be inferred from one of the duties assigned by Lanfranc to the *Circa*, or watchman, namely, to examine all the sedilia at night, lest any monk should be asleep there, in which case he is enjoined not to disturb the sleeper rudely by touching him, but quietly to make some little noise or stir that may rouse him.⁴

¹ “. . . . ad caput tercii dormitorii et tunc vertit se ad aqueductum in tercio Dormitorio.” (Chillenden’s List, sect. 8.)

² Gostling (c. xxvii., *Of the Dortor*,) informs his readers that there were two *Dortors*, or lodgings for the monks. The great one, taken down in 1547, which he describes, is that which is now by common consent termed the Dormitory; but he imagines it to have been fitted up within with galleries round a little court, cloister-fashion. This ingenious device will not, I conceive, be accepted in the present time. After completing his description, he continues (p. 181), “The range of high building from the Dark Entry toward the Larder-gate is part of the *Little Dortor*,” adding that the east end of it was the necessary-house of the Dormitory, and is now converted into houses for three of the minor canons. He wrote, it must be remembered, after the publication of the Norman drawing had shewn the real nature of the *Little Dortor*, as he calls it.

³ The use of similar cant names for these conveniences is retained to the present time, as, for example, “*fourth court*,” in Cambridge; “*number six*,” at Ch. Ch., Oxford; “*numerc cent*,” on the Continent.

⁴ “Circumitores monasterii, quos alio nomine ‘Circas’ vocant, juxta

Assuming the Great Dormitory to be the *first*, we have only now to look for the *second Dormitory*; and this name and office may be fairly assumed to have belonged to a range of building, apparently a long Hall, which stood parallel to the third Dormitory, at a distance of six feet, and connected the Great Dormitory with the Prior's old chambers, or *Camera vetus*.¹ The northern wall of this second Dormitory existed a few years ago at the back of the *Necessarium*, along its whole length, as high as the raised terrace of the garden (N, Fig. 13), which terrace was in fact supported by the remaining subvaults (M) of this Hall. In two or three places the wall was left at a much greater height, where it had been worked up into projecting staircase-turrets for the prebendal and minor canons' houses, as at Q, S, U, Fig. 12. From these remains I found that this wall (*vide* Fig. 13, K L) must have been more than twenty-five feet high above the terrace-level (N), which was about the same as the floor of the other Dormitories. Late square-headed Perpendicular windows, with transoms, remained in the high portion of this wall, and were disposed so as to receive light above the roof of the *Necessarium* (as shewn at L). No traces of the south wall have been found by which to determine the breadth of this building, but it plainly connected the Prior's group of cham-

S^{ti} Benedicti præceptum certis horis circumire debent monasterii officinas, observantes incurias et negligentias fratrum, et statuti ordinis pravaricationes.

"Completo tribus orationibus, quas conventus facit ante psalmos quos ante nocturna dicere solet, tunc enim accensa candela in absconsa, unus eorum in dormitorio debet circumire lectos omnium, et omnia sedilia in necessariis, solite considerans ne forte aliquis frater dormiens ibi remanserit, dehinc revertatur in monasterium," . . . "vero cum dormientes invenerit non eos quocunque modo tangat, sed modeste atque ordinate sonitum tantummodo, quo excitentur, faciat." (Lanfranc's 'Constitutions,' c. 1072; Wilkins' 'Concilia,' t. 1, pp. 347, 348.)

¹ Gostling (p. 182) imagines this building to have been "the second gallery of his little dortor."

bers with the great Dormitory, so as to give him private access thereto.¹ It is not probable that another story existed above, and the walls, when complete, would therefore have coincided in height with the rest of the chambers in the Prior's *Camera vetus*.

It thus appears that the two Halls, termed second and third Dormitory, were two parallel and independent structures, placed six feet apart. But at the west end of the separating space, a length of about twenty feet, or perhaps more, next to the great Dormitory, was enclosed and roofed. This space had a vaulted substructure, which raised its floor to the level of the three Dormitories, that bounded it on its north, south, and west sides. It was entered from the great Dormitory by a door (P, Fig. 12) close to its north-west corner, of which one jamb still remains, and had on the south side a door (K) giving admission to the second Dormitory, and on the north a door (C) to the third Dormitory. It was, in fact, a vestibule common to the three Dormitories, giving to the first and second independent access to the third.²

But the second Dormitory had also direct access to the first by another door (M) in the wall of the latter, distant forty feet from its north-east angle, of which the jambs remain. It must be remarked that, with respect to the great Dormitory, the door to the vestibule opened outwards, and the door to the second Dormitory inwards.

The north wall of the vestibule had three large, shallow, round-arched recesses sunk in it, about eleven feet

¹ It is probable that its south wall (N N, Fig. 12) ranged with that of the Cheker building at N O, in which case three ranges of subvaults, each of the breadth of that which existed from K to K, would have carried the floor, as shewn in Fig. 13 by the dotted lines, and in Fig. 12 by the lines L L, M M.

² Gostling describes this vestibule, but takes it for a chapel, for which purpose it was certainly unfitted.

wide, thirteen high, and ten inches deep, shewn in the Plan. Also, the north wall of the second Dormitory had a series of smaller, round-arched recesses of Norman masonry (K, Figs. 13 and 15), surmounted by a Norman string-course in its south or inside face (K K, Fig. 12). These were sunk nearly two feet into the wall, were five feet broad, and six feet high to the crown, and their sills about two feet or less from the pavement. Their separating piers were one foot ten inches in breadth. If this Hall were really employed as a Dormitory, the recesses were probably placed at the head of a series of cells framed against the wall, and lighted by the windows above. The remains of this wall, when my plans were made, shewed that it might have contained from ten to twelve of these recesses and cells.¹

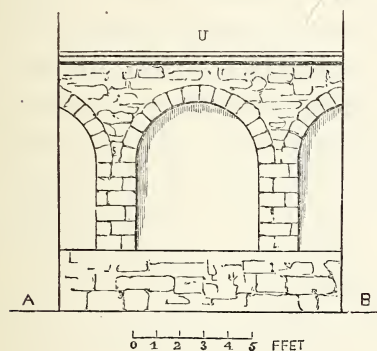


Fig. 15.

Fig. 15 is an elevation of the portion (U, Fig. 12) of this series of recesses—which was preserved on the face of part of this Dormitory wall, being employed to enclose the staircase of the prebendal house. The masonry is undoubtedly Norman, and is capped by a Norman stringcourse.

It is also probable that this Dormitory was intended for the accommodation of those conventual officers who were bound to sleep in the Dormitory. For example, we find in Chillenden's roll of works (sect. 11), "The Prior's bed, with a new study, and the hall above and the garde-

¹ In the plan of this wall (K K) the black portions shew the piers and recesses standing, and the light portions the piers which by interpolation completed the series. The compartments Q, S, U, were projecting stair-turrets, and the intermediate spaces R, T, extensions of the terrace level.

robe nearly rebuilt and leaded." This work is in the abridged account in the Obituary described as, "The Prior's bed *in the Dormitory*, with a study." In the 'Rites of Durham' the officers who slept in the Dormitory are enumerated thus (pp. 78 *et seq.*):—The Sub-Prior (over the Dorter door), the Master of the Fere-tory, the Master of the Novices, the Sacristan, the Celerer, the Master of the Garner, the Chamberlain, and the Master of the Common House, all in the Dorter.

Seeking for the history of the Necessarium Hall after the dissolution, I find in Hill's plan, drawn in 1680, and published in Battely's 'Antiquities,' 1703, the site of our Hall labelled the "Convent Dormitory"—*Dormitorium Cœnobii*. The western half of it is assigned in the plan to the twelfth Prebendary, and the eastern half divided into three for minor canons; and in this condition it remained when I first made acquaintance with the conventual buildings.¹ But the plan also applies the name Convent Kitchen (*Coquina Cœnobii*) to the ancient house which stood between the twelfth Prebendary's allotment and the Larder-gate, and was probably a building traditionally known as having appertained to the Kitchen establishment, which we may term the *small Kitchen*.

Battely assigns the same names, Dormitory and Kitchen, to these buildings; therefore it is evident that they were so termed at that period by common consent. But the subsequent discovery of the Norman plan has shewn that the former was really the *Necessarium*, and that the Convent Kitchen was in a totally different position. Possibly the name of Dormitory was retained from the term "Third Dormitory," by which, as I have shewn, the former was known in Chillenden's time.

But applying these two corrections to Battely's ac-

¹ In Fig. 12, the dotted lines *ef*, *gh*, *ij*, indicate the boundaries of the four allotments.

count of the Hall in question, which I subjoin, the ambiguity introduced by his use of the words Dormitory and Kitchen is removed:—

“The *Dormitory* (*i.e. Necessarium*) belonging to this Monastery was placed on the south side of the court of the Convent. Upon the dissolution, it was converted into a Common Hall for the minor canons and the officers belonging to the Quire, where they had a common table after the manner of Colleges. This Hall and common table being afterwards dissolved, it was converted into distinct dwellings for some of the minor canons, and into a house for the *ninth* Prebend,¹ to which house was also added the (small) *Kitchen of the Convent*. And in this state the *Dormitory and Kitchen* remain at this day.”²

To this I may add that they also remained until the year 1850, when a clean sweep was made of the whole range of the remains of the second and third Dormitories, with the exception of the minor canon's house next the Prior's gate and the picturesque ruin at the west end (Fig. 11). By thus laying open the garden on the north of the Infirmary cloister to the Green Court, a great improvement was effected in the healthy qualities of the site.

CHAPTER V.

HOSPITATE AND PRIVATE BUILDINGS OF THE PRIOR.

1. *Nova Camera Prioris, or Homors.*

In the general survey of the Convent, I have shewn that the buildings devoted to the reception of guests

¹ *Ninth* Prebend is, however, a plain mistake for *twelfth*, as Hill's plan shews. Gostling (p. 171) tells us that the common table kept for some time in the Green Court, at the house assigned to the *twelfth* Prebend, being soon disused, another was appointed in the Mint yard for the schoolmaster and scholars, with whom the minor canons were to have their commons.

² *Vide* Battely, p. 96.

were arranged in three groups, carefully separated from each other. The Prior's group was entered at the south-eastern angle of the Green Court, or *Curia*, and placed near the most sacred part of the Cathedral, as befitting the distinguished ecclesiastics or nobility who were assigned to him. The Celarer's group was entered at the south-western angle of the Court, near the west end of the nave, and divided from the Prior's group by the whole mass of the monastic buildings. The inferior pilgrims and the paupers were relegated to the North Hall, at the north-western angle, just within the gate, and at the greatest possible distance from the other two.

Beginning with the Prior's group, I must remark that in the Norman drawing two isolated houses are represented on the north side of the Infirmary buildings. The one on the north of the Chapel is labelled *Nova Camera Prioris*; the other, which stands north of the west end of the Infirmary Hall, is labelled *Camera Vetus Prioris*. A wall on the south of the *Nova Camera* connects the apse of the Infirmary Chapel with the wall of the precinct, and contains a gate, termed the "gate of the cemetery next the chapel" (*porta cimeterii juxta capellam*), intended apparently for the use of the Prior. No Norman fragments remain on the site of the *Nova Camera*, which I have therefore indicated by a dotted plan (in Plate 2). But in the position of the *Camera Vetus*, remains and traces of Norman chambers are still to be seen.

To the Prior was necessarily assigned the care of the distinguished ecclesiastics and nobility; and it will be shewn in this chapter that the regions in which these two *Camerae*, Hostries, or *Diversoria*, are respectively placed were in after times occupied with more extensive ranges of chambers for their accommodation. They were separated from the outer court, or *Curia*, by a wall

and gate, not labelled in the Norman drawing, but which I have ventured to term, in my Plan, Plate 2 (43), the Prior's Gate,¹ a name subsequently appropriated to the gateway tower near it.

The word "Camera" is not always confined to a single chamber, but often implies a Hall with its appendages of chambers and conveniences. Winchelsey's statute,² which orders that all fragments of food and drink remaining from the *Camera Prioris*, the *Mensa Magistri Infirmatorii*, and the *Aula Hospitum*, be collected in proper vessels and reserved for the almonry, shews the "Camera Prioris" to have been a Guest Hall as well as the Celerer's Hall.

The nature of the hospitality in the fourteenth century is illustrated by the twelfth chapter of Winchelsey's statutes, *De Hospitalitate*, in which he complains that "the hospitality of the house has declined to such a pitch, that religious men seeking hospitality there, and receiving only food, are compelled to lodge in the city; and enjoins therefore that all such guests, with their horses and servants, shall be cheerfully received, and lodged for one day and night, and provided with all things necessary. And the same with respect to secular guests, who shall be admitted, with their horses and servants."

In the Distribution document, the Dean is to have (reckoning from the west door of the Prior's chapel) the *Chapel with the Closet*, the old Cheker with all manner of chambers thereunto belonging, both new and old, lately appertaining to the Prior there, with the corne lofts and sellars under them, adjoining to the west end of his great gardens, and the garden before his hall doore, with the wine sellar, brewhouse, bakehouse, sta-

¹ Plate 3 (29) shews that this gate occupied very nearly the same position as the Dean's Gate did at the end of the seventeenth century.

² *Vide* Wilkin's 'Concilia,' ii. 244.

bles, etc. By examining the ground which is still held by the Dean, we learn the position of portions which belonged to the Prior, as will presently appear; but it is not to be concluded that all the Prior's ground was transferred to the Dean. For example, the site of the *Nova Camera Prioris*, which in the Norman drawing is unmistakably located to the north-east of the Infirmary Chapel, was divided amongst several Prebendaries. We will begin with the description of this site and buildings.

Some of the most remarkable of the structures devoted to hospitality at this eastern part of the convent are those which bear the name of the *Homors*. This term is applied in the Distribution document to a series of buildings, which were divided amongst the three Prebendaries of the fifth, sixth, and eleventh stalls, whose grounds lay together beyond the east part of the Infirmary buildings. The term *Meist'omors* is used in the list of Chillenden's works (sect. 18): "Item reparacio de Meist'omers pro majori parte in toto;" and also in a passage quoted by Battely,¹ which records that "John Elham, Prior, died at the "Maister Homers," and that John Bockingham, quitting his Bishoprick of Lincoln, came to this monastery, and dwelt at his own charge at the *Mayster Homers*, as Mr. Somner in his manuscript collection has observed, from the Obituary of this church in the Arundel Library." But Mr. Somner, in a note to his copy of the Distribution document (*vide* Appendix, No. VIII.), confesses that, "following a copy of this document before he had a sight of the original, he had in his survey written the word *Honors*, but adds, "And truely as it is in y^e originall, Homors, I know not what it may signifie, or whence the name should come, but have guessed at the derivation of that other name of Honors in the same treatise."

¹ P. 93. Johannes Elham Prior Anno 1448, obiit apud Maister-Homers Reg. Cant. R.

Before attempting to search for other derivations, I will mention that the south-east part of the cemetery is well known to bear the name of the *Oaks*; also that the distribution document assigns to the twelfth prebendary his lodgings in the Sub-Prior's apartments, at the south-west end of the Infirmary Hall, and grants him "a way through the 'gimews' to bring in wood;" by which we learn that the ground between his lodging and the church bore that name. This Somner, in a note, derives from the French "guimauve," marsh-mallow, as being a place of wild mallows; and he adds, "such a place is this, wayed into by a dore in y^e dark entry under the east end of the Deane's chapel." As two portions of the land circumscribing the east end of the Cathedral are thus shewn to take their names from the trees and plants growing there, I venture to suggest that the word *Homors* may be derived from a corruption of *Ormeaux*, Anglicè, Elms, or, of *Ormayes*, *Ormoies*,¹ *Ormerie*, plantations of elms. The transformation of the *Ormeaux* into the *Homors* is scarcely more violent than "gimew," from "guimauve," and the title of "The Elms" is not unusual for land. The term *Meistre* for *Maître* is preserved in the nautical phrase *Arbre de Meistre*, mainmast.

We may now turn to the description of the sites assigned to the above-mentioned three prebendaries in the distribution document, comparing it and the plan together.

"*Dr. Ridley*, fifth stall, to have all the chambers and house, from a chamber annexed to the lodging named 'y^e Homors,' with all manner houses there, above and under, joining to his garden, and so far across the great chamber as his garden wall directly departeth. And a division is there to be made across the chamber as the garden wall lieth.

"*Mr. Mennys*, sixth stall, to have the other part of the aforesaid great chamber in the *Homors*, the rooms underneath, with

¹ Ormille, ormaie, ormoie,—a plantation of elms. (Roquefort.)

the gallery and garden, and his old chamber, with all manner of chambers, sellars, and rooms there enclosed.

“*Mr. Ponett*, eleventh stall, to have the other lodging called Homors, with the gallery at the door above and beneath. And the *chapel* above and under, and the orchard enclosed with stone walls next the street, square with his lodging . . . and license to build a gallery of ten yards upon the Bishop of Dovor’s garden wall there.”

The ground assigned to the latter, or eleventh stall, contains the great isolated house shewn in the plan, which is always supposed to be that which had the superior epithet of “Meister” applied to the general word Homors. Its architecture justifies the record that Prior Chillenden rebuilt it nearly altogether. It is a large *Aula*, with opposite oriel windows near the eastern end. Its length is divided into two parts, by a wall, the western being about a quarter of the whole. The eastern part was originally open to the roof, forming a great hall; the western part being divided into two stories, of which the lower was, as at present, the kitchen. It retains the usual opening for the dresser window in the transverse wall, which separates it from the body of the hall, and has a central pointed door. When it became a prebendal house this hall was also divided into two stories, partitioned into rooms, and also had a second floor inserted under the roof to carry bed-chambers. A narrow gallery projects from its north side as far as the old Convent garden wall, which is the garden wall of the house, and a large newel stair-turret is placed at the junction of this gallery with the body of the house. Lately it has undergone a complete restoration, which, as usual in such cases, has destroyed its venerable character.

Turning now to the fifth and sixth stalls, in the last page, we find mention of a great chamber extending northward across their two allotments, and accordingly

ordered to be divided by a new partition, so as to separate it into two apartments. Picturesque remains of the east wall of a chamber, about 20 feet by 45 feet, with a lower story, still exist as shewn at (14) in Plate 3. The old precinct wall forms its east side, and a parallel wall at a distance of 20 feet the west side. But this ruinous fragment, in modern time, has been used merely as a tool-house, or, as appears from a plan taken about 1817, a washhouse; for compact modern houses, retaining no ancient portions, have been erected on the allotments of the two stalls in question, and the materials of the old chambers of course worked up in them.

Beside this divided chamber, each of the allotments given to the fifth and sixth stalls contained sufficient accommodation for its prebendary, and the whole group assigned to the three stalls formed the complete Hospitium or "Lodging named y^e Homors," which was evidently the development of the Nova Camera Prioris of the Norman times. The "Meist'omers" of the eleventh Hall was its great Banqueting Hall, and the portions assigned to the fifth and sixth stalls included a great chamber and gallery for converse and exercise, and various chambers to supply the sleeping accommodation and other requisites, the whole united into a connected mass of building.¹

2. *Camera Vetus Prioris, Cheker, and Gloriet.*

The group of chambers that gradually arose about the site of this ancient Hostry, which is distinguished by connection with the Prior's own private apartments, is divided on the ground level by the passage which leads from the Green Court directly to the Infirmary cloister. Entered from the court by the *Prior's Gateway* (31,

¹ The house of the sixth stall has been entirely pulled down in the late destruction of superfluous residences.

Plate 3), this passage passes under the east end of the Necessarium into a small entrance-court (33) open to the sky through a length of ten yards; it then proceeds, under chambers described below, to a doorway at the north end of the east alley of the Infirmary cloister.

It is termed the *Entry Bars* in Wilkes's plan in 1668, and afterwards obtained the name of the Dark Entry, having been encroached upon and covered with a roof, removed in 1845. It may be termed, for distinction, the *Prior's Entry*. In its course to the cloister it passes between the Prior's Hall (28, 27) with chambers on the left side, and the gable of the second dormitory on the right, followed by the east wall of a ruined Norman building (36), which extends to the wall of the Infirmary cloister, and is evidently part of the *Camera Vetus Prioris* of the Norman drawing.

In this drawing the *Camera Vetus* is an isolated edifice, standing at the outer north-east corner of the Infirmary, freely accessible from the Prior's gateway. But in after-times additional ranges of chambers for the Prior's hospitality gradually connected that corner with the east end of the Necessarium, so as finally to cut off the communication from the Curia to the Infirmary cloister. This was restored by making the passage under the east end of the Necessarium, which is still in use, and is entered by the so-called Prior's gateway. The passage itself, through the Necessarium, little more than six feet high, is separated from that Hall by a wall, which rises no higher than its floor, and is not of Norman masonry. The manner in which the bridging-arch of the last seat joins it shews that it interrupted and cut off the series. Also the south end of the passage is pierced through the wall of the Necessarium with a plain, low, segmental-pointed arch.

The principal chambers of the Prior before the Dissolution appear to have been those which are enumerated

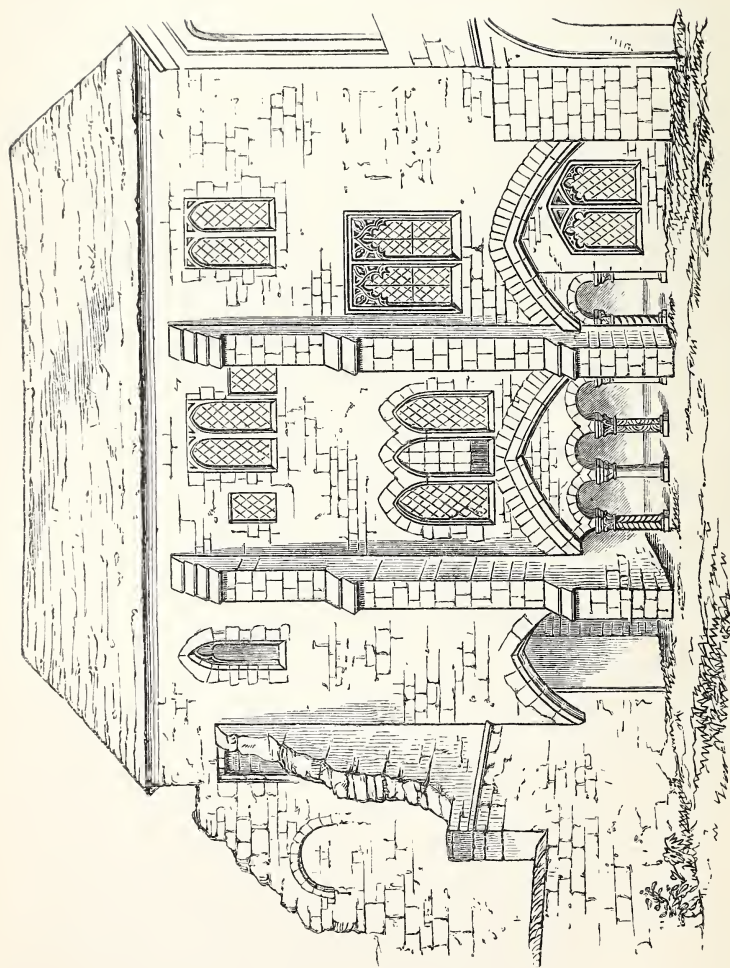


Fig. 16.—WEST FRONT OF THE CHEKER BUILDING.

in the Dean's allotment quoted above, p. 95, namely in brief, the Chapel;—the old Cheker, with all manner of chambers thereunto belonging, both new and old;—the corn-lofts and cellars under, at the west end of his great gardens;—stables, etc. Accordingly it will presently be seen that from the chapel to the stable-yard there was a series, nearly continuous, of chambers and buildings devoted to the Prior's hospitality, which are in the above list mentioned in order from south to north. The first of these is a lofty and distinct building (35, Plate 3, and Fig. 16), which stands in front of the Infirmary Hall, and occupies the east side of the Infirmary cloister. This being in contact with the chapel may be fairly identified with the "old Cheker," which is placed next to the chapel in the allotment list.

This name also shews that it was the "*Camera ad Scaccarium*¹ *cum Diversorio ibidem*," in the list of De Estria's works, while the latter term teaches us that the group of chambers, above and in connection with this building, formed a *Hospitium* for the reception of guests. The style of its architecture is the same as that of other works of De Estria (1285 to 1290). In describing the building, it will be convenient to term it the "Cheker building."²

¹ The Scaccarium, or Cheker, in a monastery is used in the sense of an office or counting-house, where accounts were kept and payments made. Thus, in the 'Rites of Durham,' "the Bursar's office was to receive all the rents that was pertaining to the House, and all other officers of the House made their accounts to him, and he discharged all the servants' wages and paid all the expenses and sums of money as was laid out about any work appertaining to the Abbey or that the House was charged withal. His chamber where he did lie, was in the Fermery." (p. 83.)

Besides this principal Cheker, each officer had a counting-house or Cheker of his own attached to his place of business, all of which are mentioned in detail in the book I have quoted. The *Cheker Building* at Canterbury must have been the Bursar's or principal counting-house, and, as we have seen, is in contact with the Infirmary, and probably, therefore, he slept in this building, as at Durham.

² The two sketches (Figs. 16, 17) shew the west front with the remains

It covers the west gable of the Infirmary Hall, and extends (at 34) twenty-four feet beyond it northwards, over the Prior's Entry, so as to overlap and unite with the ruined Norman building, which I assume to be the original *Camera Vetus*. This building is in three stories, and the Cheker building, which is also in three stories at the same levels, with the addition of a high-pitched roof, is plainly a continuation of the chamber accommodation of the Norman one, added, as above stated, in the thirteenth century. The Norman building, however, has a room on the ground-floor, and a Norman entrance-door arch into the Prior's Entry. But the Cheker building, erected over a pre-existing passage and cloister-alley, has no chambers on the ground.

Like all mediæval ranges of chambers, this building consists of two parallel walls of stone, with floors, divided into rooms and passages by wooden partitions. This Cheker building was, after the Dissolution, fitted up first as a house for one of the six preachers, afterwards used as a choristers' school, and finally employed as an additional space for the Library, with which it is in contact at the south end. Thus its ancient division by partitions was altogether destroyed, and I have accordingly omitted all partitions in my plans of it (Figs. 5 and 6).

The east wall of the *Camera Vetus* has Norman arches above and below, the former shewn in the sketch, which also shews a ruined doorway, which was the com-

of the Norman *Camera Vetus*, and the north front. In Fig. 16 the southern compartment of the first floor has a rich Perpendicular window, which in Gostling's sketch occupies the position I have given to it. When I made my sketch about twenty years ago, this window had been removed by Mr. Austin, and transplanted to the small tower-room of the Deanery, in the days of Dean Bagot. But a copy of it was inserted in the wall of the Cheker building, to the south of its ancient position, which copy may still be seen, as this building, although condemned to destruction, is not yet pulled down.

munication with the upper floor of the Cheker building. The north wall of the latter, which crosses the entry, is carried by a central pier and two segmental pointed arches, shewn in the annexed sketch (Fig. 17). The

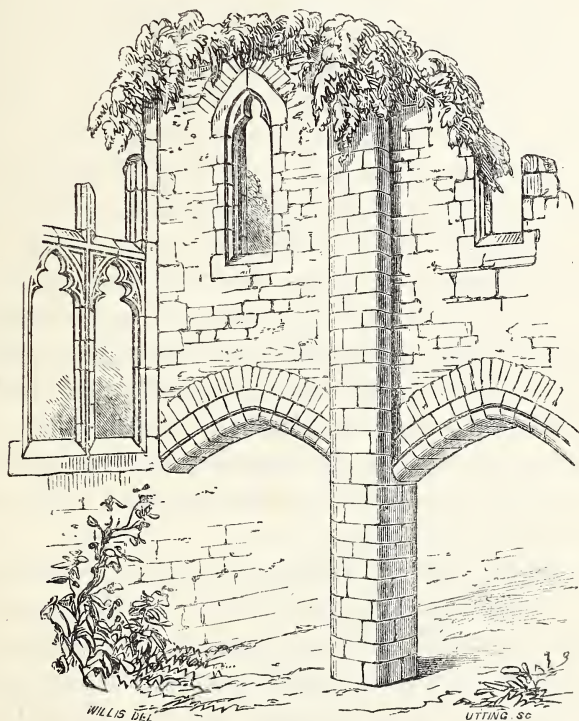


Fig. 17.—NORTH END OF THE CHEREK BUILDING.

chamber above has two single-light windows, exactly like one that remains in the wall of the second story of the chambers above described, over the Infirmary Cloister, and shews them all to belong to one work. The wall over the double arch is ruined above, but must have had similar windows in the second story.

In the east wall of the passage, between the double arch and the south door of the Prior's Entry, are the lower

parts of two large Perpendicular two-light transomed windows, one of which appears in the sketch, their sills seven feet from the ground, and their width five feet in the clear. The top of the window when complete rose as high as the second floor of the ranges of chambers already described. This is evidence that the building on the other side was a lofty Hall, probably the Dining Hall of the *Camera Prioris* mentioned in Winchelsey's Statute, p. 95 above. It was part of a range of buildings that lined the eastern boundary of the Prior's Entry, extending from the south wall of the Infirmary to the Green Court. The Hall may have reached south to the side-aisle wall of the Infirmary, or may have had chambers between its south end and that wall. The north end was bounded by a pre-existing building (28, Plate 3), of which sufficient traces remain to enable us to fix the position and form of its north gable wall, the lower part of which was Norman, and retains on the ground a Norman arch walled up. Its north face ranges with the wall of the Necessarium. This building was divided by floors.

The description of Chillenden's drain, already mentioned in the history of the Sub-Priory, informs us that, after crossing the Sub-Prior's Camera and the great Hall of the Infirmary, it runs *lengthwise along the Prior's private Camera*,¹ and so by the chamber under the Gloriet to the head of the third Dormitory, and so is turned into the aqueduct in the third Dormitory. But Prior Goldston, a century afterwards, repairing the same drain, we obtain from the Obituary this part of its course, described as passing from the Sub-Prior's Camera, *along the mansion of the Lord Prior*,² to the head of the third Dormitory.

The course of this great drain, which I have laid down in my plans (Plates 2 and 3) by the help of Wilkes's

¹ 'Per Cameram privatam Prioris in longitudine.'

² 'Per Mansionem Domini Prioris.'

plan, shews that it passed, as described, across the Infirmary and in front of this long range of building, turning westward under the north chamber, and thus joining the drain in the Necessarium, or third Dormitory. Thus the Gloriet is shewn to have been the upper chamber at the north end of the range of building, and the whole range to have been the "Prior's Mansion," or "Private Camera," that is to say, containing, in addition to chambers for hospitality, his own private apartments and a study.

The west end of the north aisle of the Infirmary Hall, against which the Prior's mansion and the Cheker building abutted, was occupied by an enclosed appendage, containing staircases and passages which gave access to the apartments of this complex and rambling edifice (*vide* Fig. 5, *r*, *s*, *t*, *q*, and Fig. 6, J, K, L).

Two richly-molded doorways, near the north end of the east alley of the Infirmary Cloister, open into this enclosure. That on the left (W, Fig. 5) has, time out of mind, borne the name of the *Prior's Doorway*, and is a large and handsome one, decorated with rich panel tracery in spandrels, manifestly the work of the same artist who made the new doorway of the Dark Entry in the great Cloister. It enters a short passage (*q*) on the ground, which meets a transverse passage (*s*, *r*) connecting the ground-floor of the Prior's Mansion or Hall with the north aisle of the Infirmary. At the south-west angle of that Hall is a circular vice (*t*), now deprived of its steps, leading to the first and second floors. The "Prior's Doorway" enabled him to pass from his entry or the Infirmary cloister straight to his Hall and garden, or to the chambers above at the south end of that Hall, and in the Cheker building.

The right-hand door (V, Fig. 5) in the Infirmary cloister is at the foot of a broad stone staircase, which, ascending first in a direct flight, and then turning twice at right angles (at J, K, Fig. 6), reaches the door of

the Cheker first floor, where it stops. A turret, with a picturesque octagonal upper story, crowns this staircase, rising through the roof of the old side aisle of the Infirmary. This turret contains a second vice, which begins on the second floor and leads upwards to a third floor within the roof of the building, and also to the top of the turret. By this disposition of the stairs the first floor of the Cheker building has a separate staircase, with a door in the Infirmary cloister leading to that floor only.¹ All these arrangements are shewn in the plans (Figs. 5 and 6).

So much of these buildings have been destroyed that it would be a vain and useless task to attempt any further identification of the various old and new chambers recorded in the works of De Estria, Hathbrande, and Chillenden. I will merely add that the Obituary concludes Chillenden's works, by saying that he laudably repaired the stone building next the Prior's Hall, which is called "Pavid Chamber," with two other chambers.

The north end of the Prior's entry separates the last-described mansion from the Necessarium, from which that entry was borrowed, and was apparently closed by an archway with gates, ranging with the boundary line of the court. But in the fifteenth century the entrance was faced by the addition of the projecting tower

¹ It is therefore probable that the Cheker chamber or counting-house on the first floor was separated from the guest chambers at the north end of that floor by a transverse partition.

A modern doorway and staircase, placed in the Infirmary cloister between the old Prior's doorways at the north end and the central west door of the Infirmary, conducts to a passage or enclosed gallery (H, Fig. 6) on the level of the first floor, which is built against the inside of the gable wall of the Infirmary, and leads to the present Library through an ancient Perpendicular doorway (F) which gave access to the Prior's Chapel.

This proves that such a passage existed before the Reformation, and led from the ancient stair-turret to the Chapel. It is probably the "passage from the Prior's chapel to his chamber"—"via de capella Prioris ad cameram suam"—mentioned under Chillenden's repairs.

gateway, or rather porch, which is known as the Prior's Gate (*vide* Fig. 12). This touches the Gloriet building at their corresponding corners, and in that angle is placed a circular turret staircase, with doors at its base into the one and the other. The porch has a rich ribbed vault, a handsomely molded entrance arch, and a low pointed arch with similar moldings inserted into the north wall of the Necessarium, which forms the south wall of the porch.

The gateway tower appears to be the work of Prior Selling, recorded in the Obituary, where we find that he "built a certain tower contiguous to the Prior's chamber termed the Gloriet, which tower, now lately called the *Prior's Study*, he built of stonework from the foundations, decently ornamented its interior, covered it with lead, and finished it with glazed windows."¹ The chamber in question was called the *Dean's Study* in Gostling's time, a traditional name which completes the identification of it with Selling's work.

3. *New Lodging and Deanery.*

We have now surveyed the remains of all the buildings assigned to the Prior, with the exception of those which are now the only part of the Prior's chambers retained by his successors the Deans.² The present Deanery is a long, rambling edifice, extending about 180 feet, and exhibiting a patchwork of several struc-

¹ *Pr Sellyng*, 1472-94, edificavit turrim quandam, cameræ Prioris vocatæ La Gloriet contiguam. Quam quidem turrim modo studium Prioris appellatum opere lapideo a fundamentis erexit erectamque interius decenter ornavit ac cum coopertura de plumbo fenestrisque vitreatis plene consummavit. In the biography of Prior Crauden, in the 'Anglia Sacra,' i. 649, we are told that in his Priory buildings at Ely he had a private "studium" for reading books when he had leisure. "Habuit etiam ibidem studium suum pro libris, quum sibi vacaverit, inspiciendis." This passage shews that the word is used in its modern sense.

² Excepting also the brewhouse, stables, etc., on the north side of the Green Court.

tures, of different ages, pierced with modern windows, and having modern roofs. Its anomalous composition will be easily accounted for by considering its history, for the elucidation of which I have drawn the block Plan (Fig. 18, page 110 below).¹

But as the history of this particular structure can scarcely be understood without referring to the general nature of its modern interior, I have indicated by capital letters on the Plan the principal subdivisions, without inserting modern doors and windows.²

The north part of the building shews the form of it, before the alterations made by Dean Percy at the beginning of this century, as far as can be gathered from Gostling's view, the plans given by Hill and Gostling, and the reminiscences of Mr. Gilbert.

We have seen that the Prior's lodgings were originally included in two groups,—the first in the neighbourhood of the buildings appropriated to the monastic life, connected with his own private apartments, and provided with covered ways to his Chapel, the Church, and the Dormitories, this group having grown up from the *Camera Vetus Prioris* as a nucleus. The second group, under the name of the *Homors*, is similarly placed on and near the site of the *Camera Nova* of the Norman drawing.

¹ This Plan has no pretensions to minute accuracy; for the object of this work is to illustrate the history and arrangement of the monastic buildings, and I have not in any case attempted to measure and plan the interior partitions and distributions of the houses that were fitted up within the old walls after the Dissolution, to adapt them for family residences.

² In describing the internal arrangements of the Deanery, I have to acknowledge the kind assistance of the Dean of Canterbury, who, in addition to much private information, has also communicated to me a letter detailing the distribution of the apartments before the alterations of Dean Percy, written by the Rev. G. Gilbert, Prebendary of Lincoln and Vicar of Syston, near Grantham, whose recollections of the Deanery date from the year 1800.

But the Obituary mentions a third set of buildings, the work of Thomas Goldston, the last Prior but one (1495–1517), who is recorded to have “built and completed a new, beautiful, and excellent edifice, commonly called *New Lodgyng*, near the ancient house of the Prior called *Le Gloriet*.¹ It contains chambers, dining-halls, solars or upper chambers, and every appendage requisite to complete such a mansion. It is also provided with a handsome porch towards the court.”

This description, unlike the early notices, implies that this great *Hospitium*, or *Diversorium*, was not a mere repair of old structures, but an entirely new one for hospitality alone. It faced the court, and was near the *Gloriet*. These characteristics apply completely to the Deanery, which also faces the great gardens of the Prior on the east side, and extends on the north to the stables and offices, which at the Dissolution were separately assigned to the Dean and Prebendaries. On the west it appears as a complete mansion, commanding the court.

It was perfectly natural, therefore, that this portion of the Prior's buildings should have been chosen by the first Dean, Nicholas Wotton, as his residence. He held the Deanery for twenty-six years, to the reign of Elizabeth, and was succeeded by Thomas Goodwyn, or Godwyn, in 1556, was a married man, and was promoted to the see of Bath and Wells in 1584. But Battely informs us² that, in this Dean's time, the houses belonging to the Deanery had been very much damaged by an accidental fire, and he left them, and the house

¹ *Goldston*, 1495–1517. Novum quoque ædificium, vulgariter vocatum New Lodgyng, juxta antiquam Priorum mansionem vocatam Le Gloriet, satis pulchrum atque formosum, cum cameris, cœnaculis solariis et cæteris appendiciis idem ædificium concernentibus, cum porticu decenti versus curiam et cum omni apparatu ad ornatum dictæ mansionis pertinente, magnifice et laudabiliter consummavit.

² P. 122, quoting a MS. of Somner.

in Chartham belonging to the Deanery, so dilapidated that, in the year following, he was threatened by the Chapter of this Church to be sued, unless he took care to put the same into repair. Hence, it is said, that he rebuilt the Deanery. His name, and the date (1570), recorded in stone on two heads of the house,¹ shewed, in Gostling's time, when and by whom it was built.²

The view of the Deanery given by Gostling represents the main body as a mansion-house, the front of which is surmounted as now by three triangular gables in contact, and a high-pitched roof.³ On the south, the house abuts against the tower at the south-west angle, as at present. Under the central gable is a porch, in the form of a semi-octagon. Above this porch Mr. Austin raised an oriel window in the days of Dean Lyall (1847 to 1857). The first floor is provided with a row of uniform large sash-windows, nine in number, of the early form that came in with the eighteenth cen-

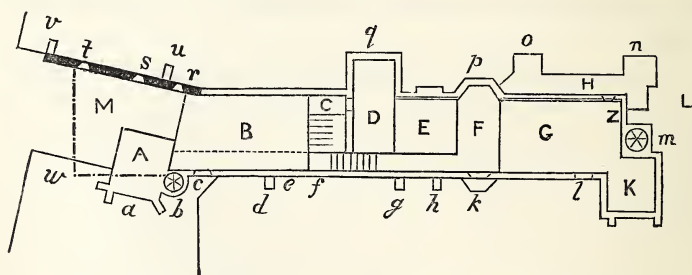


Fig. 18.—BLOCK PLAN OF THE DEANERY.

tury. Above this story the chamber windows appear, one in each gable, as usual.

This main body of the House manifestly stands on the

¹ Gostling, p. 150.

² This Dean surrendered the Cheker building to serve as a house for one of the six preachers, he having houseroom enough without it.—Gostling, p. 140.

³ The present gables are careful restorations of the ancient ones, which had been at the end of the last century replaced by a plain parapet.

site of the long house in the Norman drawing labelled Bath House and Chamber (*Balneatorium et Camera*).

Like that, its southern extremity is placed a little to the south of the direction of the north wall of the Necessarium, and it extends northwards to the middle of the east side of the Green Court.

From the date of the rebuilding in 1570, no alterations are recorded until the time of Dean Percy (c. 1820), who carried out changes by which the form and appearance of the north end of the west front, shewn in the view presented to Gostling's work by Dean Cornwallis, were altered with great loss of picturesque effect. In the above-mentioned engraving, the west front from the staircase window northward is left apparently in the form given to it by Gostling. It is in one story, raised upon vaults, and terminated by a projecting chamber (A) with buttresses, and provided with a two-light transomed Perpendicular window. A circular tower (b) with a newel stair, similar to that which still remains on the east side of the Prior's gateway, was placed at the junction of A and B.

The Dean's work was undertaken for the purpose of obtaining a more commodious dining-room. The original one was situated at the southern part of the building (in G), and the kitchens, with their appendages, servants' offices and their sleeping-rooms, partly arranged in and about the south end of G and in K, and partly extended into the space L, being probably portions of the kitchen offices of the ancient Infirmary.

Dean Percy fitted up his new and handsome Dining-room in the compartment B, beyond the great staircase, and by pulling down the small terminal building A, with some outbuildings beyond it belonging to the stables, obtained space for the erection of a set of new kitchens and servants' offices suitable to modern convenience, and contiguous to the new Dining-room.

The compartments A and B had been, previously to these changes, assigned to the Archbishop; but Dean Percy transferred his Grace to the old Dining-room at G. The present Dean has converted it into a Library, no rooms being now reserved for the Archbishop.

Under the floor of B is a long passage against the east wall, occupying nearly half the width. It is covered with a Norman waggon vault, the crown of which is nearly four feet below the floor of the present Dining-room. The remaining space under the floor to the west wall is occupied by the Dean's cellars, which are entered by a door (*c*) and steps downwards from the garden at *b*.

The eastern or garden front of the Deanery is more picturesque than the western. A square tower (*q*) projects from the north end of the main body of the House. On the first floor this tower contains a small room connected with the smaller Drawing-room. In this tower-room the late Mr. Austin inserted the fine old two-light Perpendicular window which belonged to the Cheker building (*vide* Fig. 16), and substituted in the wall of that edifice the copy in Caen stone which is now to be seen. This was done to please Lady Harriet Bagot, the wife of the Dean of that time, who happened to have a taste for ruins in landscape gardening, according to the fashion of that period, the effects of which may be seen in many parts of the Deanery and other gardens, where genuine old doorways, archways, and windows (obtained by the destruction of the remains of monastic offices, where, if left, they would have told their tale of the real use of these buildings), are now to be seen in impossible positions, inserted into walls and corners, where no buildings ever existed.

Returning now to the garden front, we find south of the above-mentioned tower an original oriel (*p*) in two stories, the lower one lighting the present Entrance

Hall (F), the upper one belonging to the great Drawing-room which extends on the first floor over E and F. On this floor the space G is divided into two or more bed-rooms, but formed a single chamber originally.

Against the east wall of this part an additional narrow structure (H) was built, apparently after the Dissolution, which is in two stories, is entered on each floor through the side of the oriel (*p*), and provides a passage into which doors are opened to give separate access to the rooms and chambers which now occupy the space G. In the monastic period this space G was probably undivided by partitions. A single light window, pointed, and without cusps, was discovered some years since in the east wall of G, proving that this was at first an external wall. An original corner tower is at the south end (*n*); another built by Mr. Austin is at (*o*).

Beyond the great tower (*q*) the east wall extends along the compartment B, and is now garnished with sash-windows. At the north angle of B, an ancient high wall completes the boundary of the garden. This wall retains three single-light windows (*r*, *s*, *t*), identical in form with those of the Cheker, the work of De Estria. These windows are now walled up, and the wall itself supported by two buttresses (*u*, *v*), which do not belong to its original structure, for the left-hand one partly covers the window *r*.¹

The wall does not lie in the same direction as the wall of the Deanery-house, and evidently belonged to an isolated building which appears to have occupied the place of the building in the Norman drawing which has no name attached to it, but is shewn by its low side-wall to have been a barn, and is situated against the corner where the old precinct wall is reflected at right angles, exactly in the position and bearing of the building of which the wall we are considering formed

¹ This is incorrectly drawn in the woodcut.

the east side, and was also part of the old precinct wall of the Convent.

The position of this originally isolated piece in the region appropriated to agricultural purposes, shews that it was the great hay-barn, "*magna grangia ad fenum*," included in the list of De Estria's repairs and rebuilding, 1285 to 1290; and probably also alluded to in the sentence, "Y^e cornelofts and sellars under them adjoyning to y^e west end of his (the Prior's) great gardens," contained in the Dean's allotment. No portions of the other three sides of this structure remain. On part of the inside face of the wall above described low offices abut, and the remainder serves to enclose and conceal from the Deanery garden, Dean Percy's kitchen yards (at M), as formerly it did the stable yards. Hill's plan in 1680 shews coarsely the oriel-shaped porch on the west front of the Deanery, with the opposite oriel of the east front, and also the central garden tower (*q*), and the ancient wall of De Estria's barn, which is drawn with its proper deviation in bearing.

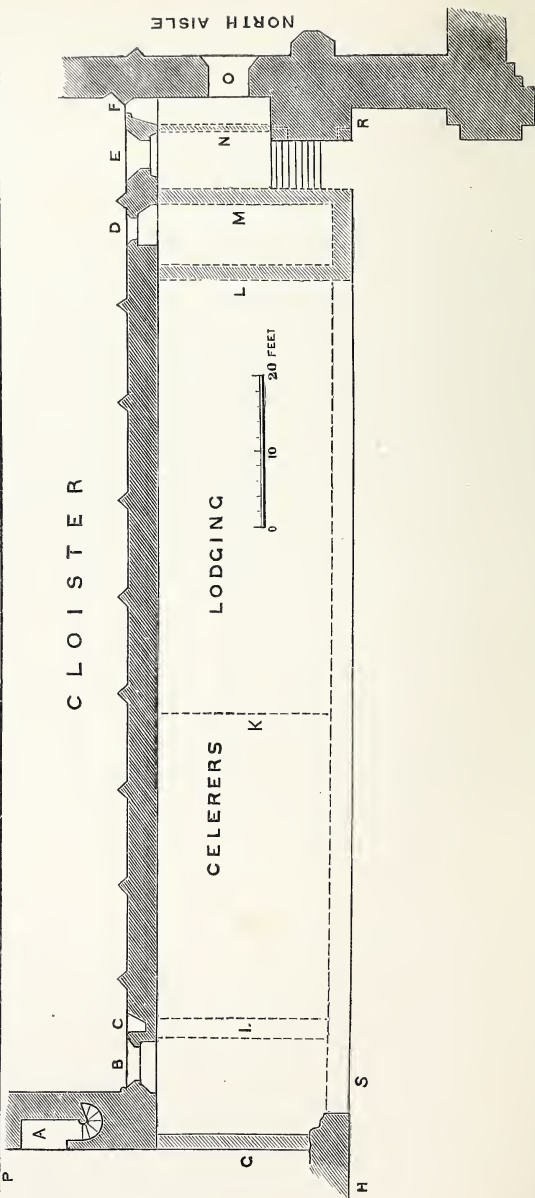
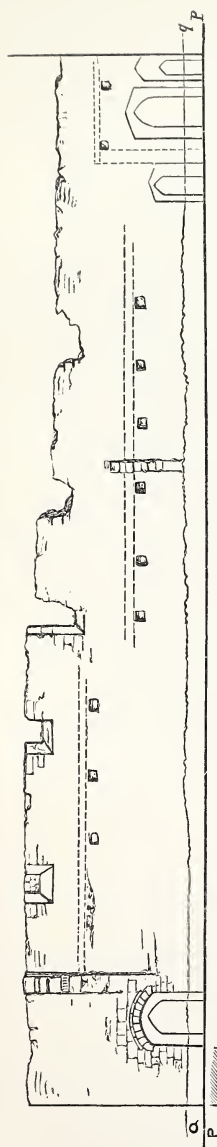
Wilkes letters the south part of the space G "*y^e D. hall*," the Dean's Hall, and indicates the lower flight of a staircase in the position of the present one.

CHAPTER VI.

HOSPITATE AND PRIVATE BUILDINGS OF THE CELERER.

This group of buildings are placed in a narrow irregular site, bounded on the south by the church, on the west by the Palace grounds, on the east by the west alley of the great Cloister, the Refectory, Kitchen court and its offices, and on the north by the Green Court. The principal buildings of this group are the *Cellarium* or Celerer's Lodging, the *Aula Hospitum*, Guest Hall or Celerer's Hall, the gatehouse, termed "gate between the Guest Hall and Kitchen" ("*Porta inter Domum Hos-*





pitum et Coquinam”), or “Pentise gate,” and, finally, the range of “Chambers for Hospitality” between the Kitchen and Green court. The south and east sides of the Guest Hall face a long, narrow, irregular court, which is bounded on the east by the wall of the Kitchen and of the passage from that to the Refectory. This court, for convenience, may be termed the “Celerer’s court.” Pilgrims seeking hospitality were conducted, after entering the Court gate, into the long covered alley which lined the west wall of the Green Court and was known as the “Pentise.” It led directly to the Pentise gatehouse, which gave admission to this court and to all the other buildings above enumerated, which we will now proceed to examine in order, beginning from the south with the “Celerer’s Lodging.”

1. *The Celerer’s Lodging, or Cellarium.*

The building termed the Celerer’s Lodging lined the whole length of the west Cloister wall. This is certain, because this building was, as I have explained above (p. 11), retained by the King at the dissolution of the monastery, and afterwards transferred to the Archbishop. And the boundary wall between the north end of the site of this building and the Chapter ground is placed exactly at the outer north-west angle of the Cloister wall.

Nothing remains of this edifice, the work of Prior Chillenden, as already stated (at p. 44, above), except so much of its eastern wall as belongs to the Cloister itself. The subjoined Sketch (Fig. 19) and Plan (Fig. 20) will enable the general arrangement of it to be understood, and also the disposition of the passages to which the three doors grouped together at the south end of the Cloister gave entrance. The Sketch is an elevation of the inner face of the wall, which is in a rough and ruinous condition; the upper line shews the lower parts

of windows which were placed over the Cloister-roof. Beneath them are seen the mortices in the wall which carried the floor girders.

At the south end is the back of the doorway of the Cloister (B. in the Plan), through which Becket passed on the morning of his murder, as the present Dean of Westminster has so ably demonstrated in his 'Historical Memorials of Canterbury.'¹ The cloister face of this doorway is richly molded, and is the work of Chillenden. But it is remarkable that the rear-arch of this door, which is shewn in my elevation, is of Norman masonry, and therefore the actual archway under which the Archbishop passed upon that memorable occasion.

The account given by the Dean of the employment of this doorway on that morning, is as follows, slightly abridged. When Becket resolved to pass from his palace to the Cathedral, with his attendants,—

"They first attempted to pass along the usual passage . . . through the orchard, to the western front of the church; but finding court and orchard thronged with armed men, they turned through a room which conducted to a private door that was rarely used, and which led from the palace to the cloisters of the monastery. One of the monks ran before to force it, for the key was lost. Suddenly the door flew open, as if of itself; for two cellarmen of the monastery, whose lodgings were in that part of the building, . . . hearing the tumult, flew to the cloister, drew back the bolt, and opened the door to the party from the palace. . . . He passed along the northern and eastern cloister, and thus reached the door of the transept."²

But as the party-wall between the Archbishop and Convent was at that time the west wall (H R) of the Celerer's Lodging, it is evident that the Archbishop must have had a door in that wall, for example, at S in the Plan, through which he had an exclusive right of passage, in order to reach the Cloister-door B, which

¹ Page 60.

² Garnier, 71.

was an entrance common to the Convent and Archbishop. And it is probable the door S in the Archbishop's wall was the one which the Cellarman unbolted, and which was rarely used, for the door B must have been in constant use by the servants of the Convent.¹

The Cloister-wall we are examining has three large doors, all the work of one period, yet all presenting differences, either of form or moldings. But each of these various characters can be found in some other of the conventual doorways, and always in one that belongs to the works of Chillenden. Thus, beginning from the north, the Celerer's door at that end (B), and his next door at the other end (D), have segmental-pointed arch-heads, enclosed within a square order of moldings, and a square hoodmold.

The moldings of B have the same section as the arch which opens to the Lavatory Chamber in Chillenden's gallery. The moldings of D are cut from the identical templet employed for the south-east door of Chillenden's gallery. The design and moldings of the central door (E) of the three at the south end of the cloister, and those of the west door of the Infirmary Hall, are identical, but with a slight difference in the dimensions.² Both have pointed, continuous arches, with a square order of molding and a square hoodmold. Another copy of the same is fixed between the north transept and the choir-aisle. The small door F, at the south end, has only a single border of Perpendicular molding, and need not detain us.

From these examples, and other similar ones which I have discovered in these buildings, it appears that it

¹ It was walled up when the site was taken from the Chapter at the Dissolution. I have represented the doorway as being open, to shew the relation between the two arches.

² The Infirmary doorway and south transept doorway, for example, are both 4 ft. 10 in. wide, and the cloister-door is 5 ft. 2 in. wide.

was thought desirable to vary features of the same kind, such as these doorways, that were placed together, but that copies of the same designs might be employed in other buildings of the same group, at a distance.

At present, the wall at the back of the three contiguous doorways (D, E, F) presents a clean surface, and has a paved platform to give access to them, for the middle door is employed as an entrance to the Cloister from the churchyard. The partitions, which originally divided the space, as shewn in the Plan, have all disappeared. The platform is 2 feet 6 inches above the Cloister pavement, to which the descent is by steps. But the older plans, taken before the old Norman tower of Lanfranc was sacrificed, shew that the partition M, which enclosed the north side of the passage to the Archbishop's door, remained with steps, as shewn in my Plan, in which I have inserted the Norman tower, from Wild's accurate the plan of the Cathedral.

A partition must have been placed at N in the old time, for otherwise the door at F would have been superfluous. But with the partition that door supplies the monks with access from the cloister to the nave of the church, through the door at O.

It will appear in the account of the Archbishop's palace below, that a covered walk or pentise enabled him to pass from his own apartments, dryshod, to the slype that led to his cloister-door, E. This mode of gaining entrance to the church from the palace is, perhaps, that which is alluded to in the history of Becket's murder as the usual passage through the orchard to the western front of the church. It was through this door (E) that the knights forced their way into the cloister and advanced along the southern side to the entrance of the transept, as described in the graphic narrative already quoted.¹

¹ *Vide* 'Historical Memorials of Canterbury,' p. 62, and also Plate 3,

The girder-holes in the wall shew that there was, in the middle of the range of buildings, a lofty apartment, with low rooms beneath. At the north end the floor divided the wall into two nearly equal heights. The Cloister-door D, at the south end, probably opened to a vestibule, L M, with a staircase for the upper floor and doors to the ground-floor of the Celerer's Lodgings. The rooms below must have been lighted, if at all, by windows looking into the Archbishop's ground. In Dart's plan, a wall is marked at L as well as at M, but may have belonged to a temporary outhouse.

At C, I have indicated the section of the octagonal opening already described. But its termination on the west face of the wall is effectually stopped up.

In the elevation, P *p* is the level of the cloister pavement; Q *q* that of the accumulated ground behind it. A is the plan of the stair-turret and passage to it, in the thickness of the wall mentioned above (p.35). The inside of this wall retains the toothing of a partition wall at L (in the Plan). C is a thin wall built merely to separate the Convent and Palace lands at the Dissolution.

2. *Chillenden's Guest Chambers.*

To the Celerer's care was manifestly assigned, as their position shews, the long range of chambers over the Larder facing the Green Court, which is described in Chillenden's list, § 4, as "New chambers for hospitality next to the convent kitchen, with a new larder below," and in the Distribution document as "the whole lodging from the *Larder gate* to the *Pentise gate*, with the chambers there called Heaven and Paradise."¹ As the Pentise gate has two chambers, one above the other, ex-

which shews the relative positions of the Archbishop's Palace and the Celerer's Lodging.

¹ An Obituary quoted by Gosling (p. 398) records, with the date 1397, that W. Woghope made the chamber called *Heven*.

tended over the whole gatehouse, we may suppose the upper one to have been called "Heaven," and the lower, "Paradise."

Chillenden's building is on the south side of the Green Court, extending from the Norman Pentise gatehouse (69, Plate 3), which it touches at the west end, to the Larder gateway arch, which joins its east end. Like the "New Lodging" or Deanery, and the Cheker building, this structure consists of a ground floor, a first floor, and a second floor. The chambers of the latter were wholly contained in the roof. Its front is now broken by a projecting square turret, which is placed to the east of its centre. The repairs now carrying on have shewn this turret to be a structure of wood and plaster, standing on a base-story of brick, faced with flint chequer-work; the whole being plainly an intrusion of late work to provide an oriel for the great Drawing-room, which occupies about half of the space between this tower and the Pentise gatehouse, and is lined with wainscot panelling. The building has a high-pitched roof, framed ornamentally, so as to supply an open gallery for exercise from one end of the house to the other, perhaps with sleeping chambers or recesses on each side. Its tie-beams are the girders of the floor. Its collar-beams have side braces, and in the middle of the floor is a series of ornamental molded wooden king-posts, with bases and capitals, sustaining a long continuous rail under the collar-beams. Each post has four struts diverging from its capital to the rail and to the main rafters respectively. This framing is nearly the same as that of the house at Charney engraved in Parker's 'Glossary,' pl. 171. The date of the roof we are now considering, which is that of Chillenden's Priorate (1390-1411), will serve to fix the date of the Charney roof.

Judging from the arrangement of the Kitchen offices

compared with the descriptive mention of this house in the document as "new Guest Chambers, with a new Larder below," it may be inferred that the ground floor was nearly occupied by the Larder and Kitchen offices.

The first and second floors are now reached by a wooden flight of stairs, contained in a wing added to the building on its south side after the Dissolution, which also supplies additional chambers. These stairs rise from the Entrance Hall, which has a front door northwards. But it is probable that the guests originally entered the building by the archway in the gatehall of the Pentise Gate, and ascended by a vice or newel-staircase, now destroyed, to the upper chambers, as explained below.

This house blocked up the north window of the Convent Kitchen. As this window was originally open, it follows that the original buildings which bounded the north side of the Kitchen were of one story, if, indeed, that space were not an open court; for, as the Plan (Plate 3) shews, a stout wall still divides the lower story into two halves, of which the western is equal in length to the Kitchen, and the eastern was the ancient Larder, because it gave name to the gate to which it is contiguous.

The house itself now presents very nearly its ancient external appearance, preserving its roof, with many of its plain square-headed Perpendicular windows with mullions, and four-centred doorways; but a great portion of its length is concealed by the garden wall which now springs from the side of the turret and encloses from view more than half the western part of the house and the whole of the Pentise and Pentise gatehouse, which before the Dissolution were open to the court.

3. *Pentise Gatehouse and Celerer's Hall.*

The *Pentise Gate*, which presents itself next after Chillenden's Chambers, is a Norman gatehouse, and offers many points of great interest, which can only be understood by comparing it with other structures of the same kind, of which the Convent possesses two others in the Norman Court Gate and the Christchurch Gate (94, Plate 3) of the Cathedral Churchyard. This comparison will be facilitated by previously examining the general principles of arrangement of the gatehouses of domestic architecture, which, like those we are considering, are employed when the buildings are disposed about courts or quadrangles.

The entrance-passage through a gatehouse consists of two parts. First, the "Gateway" proper, which term expresses the arch or arches within and against which the gates themselves are hung, including the deep ornamental moldings on the exterior, which usually project considerably, forming a sheltered recess in front of the closed gates. These decorations exterior to the gates constitute the "portal" (portail, Fr.), which if extended so far outwards as to be covered with vaulting, becomes a "porch."

The second part of a gatehouse, which may be termed the "gate hall," is the space between the back of the gates and the arch which is the boundary of the entrance passage towards the court. This space is that in which the persons entering find themselves after passing through the gates. Like the entrance hall of an ordinary dwelling-house, it protects and governs the entrance by its gates, and shelters the persons who are seeking admission to the court or quadrangle, or preparing to quit it.

The gate hall is usually covered with a vault and is perfectly open to the court beyond, being bounded in

that direction by an arch less in height than the vault and in span than the breadth of the hall, only by such quantities as may be required for its ornamental moldings and piers. Such a hall manifestly requires no windows.¹

In the early gatehouses, of which the Court Gate and Pentise Gate are examples, the gateway arch is as high as the opposite arch of the gate hall, and, like that, is concentric with the vault. Its inner surface must be flat, to enable the doors to shut against it. But the doors hung at the back of so high an arch must have been square-headed and no higher than the impost of the archway, for if they had been cut to the arch shape above, the curved vault of the hall would have prevented them from folding against the side walls. The semicircular space of the arch above the doors may therefore have been filled up by iron gratings, or by a transom or flat arch, with a tympanum above. This accounts for the prevalence of tympanums in the early doorways.

The tympanum was afterwards got rid of by making the molded gateway arch so much lower than the vaults within, that the top of the arch-shaped door should be at or below the level of the springing of the vaults behind, and thus it could be folded against the side walls without interfering with them.

On the same principle, arched doorways in thick walls have a wider and higher recess constructed behind the doorway and arched or vaulted over-head, generally with a segmental pointed arch, so arranged that the arch head of the door, when opened, will pass clear of this higher vault surface. This recess I have termed the "rear vault"² of the door or window, for the same principle applies to windows.

A porch, like the gate hall, is a chamber with doors at one end and an open arch at the other. But they differ in that the porch is placed in front of the doors and the gatehall behind them.

² *Arrière voussure* in French; vide my 'Architectural Nomenclature' (1844), in which I first developed the principle of its arrangement.

The entrance archway is always of sufficient width to admit carriages, or large parties of pedestrians, horsemen, or processions, and is necessarily closed with a pair of gates. For the admission of single persons a "wicket" is provided. This term is applied to a small door hinged in a doorway pierced through one of the great doors. Such wickets may be seen in daily use in all the gateway doors of the Colleges in the Universities and other collegiate buildings. But in later examples a small doorway, termed a "postern," is placed at the side of the great archway. This occurs in the Christchurch Gatehouse, at the entrance of the Cathedral Churchyard at Canterbury (94, Plate 3), and was introduced also into the Norman Court Gate (Fig. 31, page 144, below) in the following manner, probably in the course of Chillenden's repairs:—The Norman gate-arch was closed by a wall, which leaves its outer part and ornamental moldings free, but divides the entrance into a small pointed arch for a postern door, and a larger four-centred one, with gates for use when required. The moldings of these inserted arches abut against the ancient piers without contracting the original opening, except by the central pier.

The late Mr. Austin repaired the open Norman eastern archway of the Court gatehall by erecting beneath it a copy of Chillenden's double western arches, omitting the door and gates.

Gate halls in general have a door in the side wall, which opens to a lateral chamber occupied by the porter. As gatehouses generally form part of a range of building, this porter's lodge finds its place within their walls.

One or two stories of chambers may be placed above the gate hall, with ornamental windows, which are employed to give architectural character to the entrance, and may serve to watch the persons who seek admission

or observe the proceedings of those who are within the courts of the establishment. But these chambers above the gate hall are generally employed for purposes not connected with the entrance or exit below, and form a part of the suites of rooms in the ranges of buildings of which the gatehouse forms a part. The gate hall coincides in level with the ground story. The chamber floor above it is ordinarily raised more or less higher than the first floor of the adjacent buildings, but not more than can be accommodated by a few steps.

We may now turn to the Pentise Gate and the Celerer's Hall to which it is attached.

Documents quoted by Somner¹ shew that this gate was, in 1382, called the Inner Gate next the Guesten Hall, "*Porta interior juxta Aulam Hospitum*," and had a chamber near it, appropriated to the "Keeper of the Inner gate." We have seen that this inner gate, at the time of the Dissolution, had acquired the name of the *Pentise gate*, from the long Pentise, or wooden ambulatory, built by Prior Chillenden to connect it with the Court Gate.

The Norman remains of the Celerer's Hall are scanty, but extremely interesting. In Plate 2 its plan is delineated in block, but in Plate 3 in detail.

The east wall of the lower story remains entire, as well as the lower part of the return walls, or gables, at the south and north ends, by which the dimensions may

¹ By this document, dated 1382, the Prior and Convent make a donation of the *office of Keeper of the inner gate to the Servant and Esquire* (of the Steward of the Guesten Hall), *with the Chamber* belonging to the said Keeper. "*. . . Custodiæ portæ interioris juxta Aulam Hospitii servienti et armigero suo, cum camera dicti custodis.*"—Somner, pp. 111, 112. The Norman drawing being unknown to Somner, he erroneously supposes the name *Aula Hospitum* to mean the North Hall, next to the Green Court Gate. In a list of officers under the Celerer (App. Somner, p. 36, no. xxxv.) the following occur:—"Senescallus aulæ hospitum; Janitor portæ aulæ; garcio ejus; Janitor portæ exterioris curiæ; Janitor portæ cimiterii; Hostiarius claustrii; garcio ejus."

be obtained. According to my measurements, the outer length of the building is 120 feet, the distance between the walls at the south end 22 feet 6 inches. The outer face of its east wall is decorated at the basement with a plain Norman arcade of nine arches, resting on pilasters, each arch of a single order, with an edge-bowtell and hoodmold. The pilasters also have edge-shafts and simple flower capitals (*vide* Figs. 21, 23, 24, 30).

At the north-east angle is a square turret, containing a spiral staircase (9, 10, Fig. 21). A plain circular arch, the portal of the Pentise Gatehouse, of 12 feet span and 8 feet deep, abuts against its eastern face, which is of the same breadth; the eastern abutment of this arch is a plain, strong pier. The arch is of a single order, with a plain impost mold, and is the "Inner Gate next the Guesten Hall" above mentioned, but in the Norman drawing is inscribed, "*Porta inter Domum Hospitum et Coquinam.*" The drawing, however, merely represents an immense pair of square doors, like those of a modern coach-house, and preposterously exaggerated in size with respect to the other buildings.¹ The archway and the stair-turret are apparently of one piece of work with the Celerer's Hall.²

The eastern abutment wall of the arch is continued southwards, and is pierced by a Norman zigzag arched doorway (6, Fig. 21), which led behind the Convent Kitchen to the Larder and offices. The Norman Kitchen (as stated above, p. 37) was taken down and rebuilt, probably on a larger scale, between 1338 and 1370, and was, in its latter form, forty-seven feet square internally. The great Norman Portal gave a direct entrance to the Celerer's Court, as my plan (Plate 3) shews.

¹ Measured by the scale of the church, they would be 35 feet wide and 45 feet high.

² Figs. 21 to 30 give complete plans and details of this Gatehouse and its connection with the adjacent buildings.

The passage is continued southward under two severies of later Norman vaulting covering the Gate Hall, of which the above-mentioned archway is the Portal (Fig. 21), and the transverse arch (2, 3) that terminates these

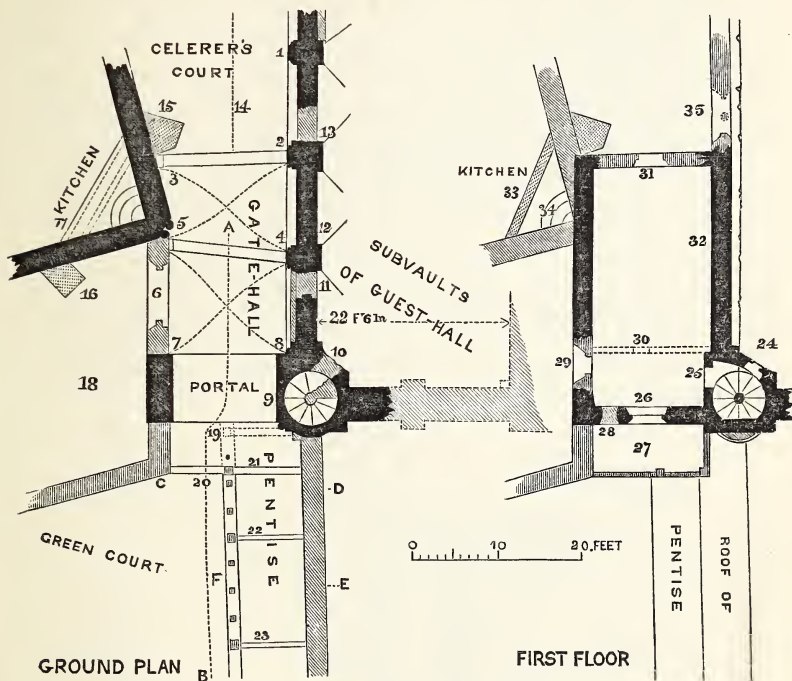


Fig. 21. PLANS OF THE PENTISE GATEHOUSE. Fig. 22.

severies to the south carries a Norman wall (as shewn in Fig. 30), which indicates that the vaulting had a chamber constructed above it which, together with it, formed a complete Gatehouse, of the ordinary form described above. Remains of the Norman north wall of this chamber, which had a central window, exist above the great portal, but are concealed by the subsequent timber front, and will be described below. The remainder of the wall of the Celerer's Hall, or Domus Hospitum, is ornamented with the arcade already described.

A closer examination of the vaults of the entrance passage or gatehall shews that the transverse ribs and groined vaulting, although Norman, were added some time after the portal archway and the side wall of the Celerer's Hall had been finished. The lateral arcades and pilasters of the two vaulted severies on the west side of the passage are exactly the same as those of the remainder of the wall (*vide* Fig. 30). The two broad, transverse ribs of these vaults are supported on stone impost, inserted into the wall immediately above the impost of the arcade, and projecting over them, like corbels, to carry the first voussoirs (*vide* Fig. 24). The groins are set up upon inserted corbels (Fig. 23), or start from blocks sunk into the walls,—evidently some time after the arcades and deep entrance portal were completed.

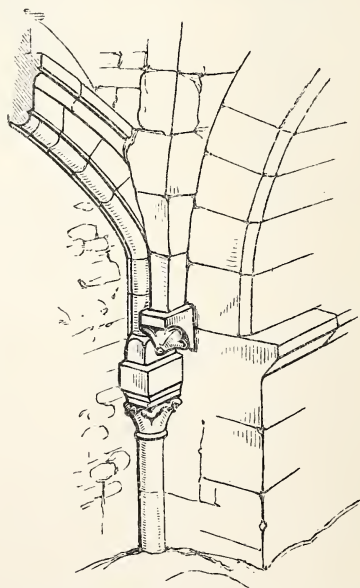


Fig. 23.—INSERTED CORBEL AND VAULT AT M, Fig. 24.

The east side of the vaulted passage is bounded partly

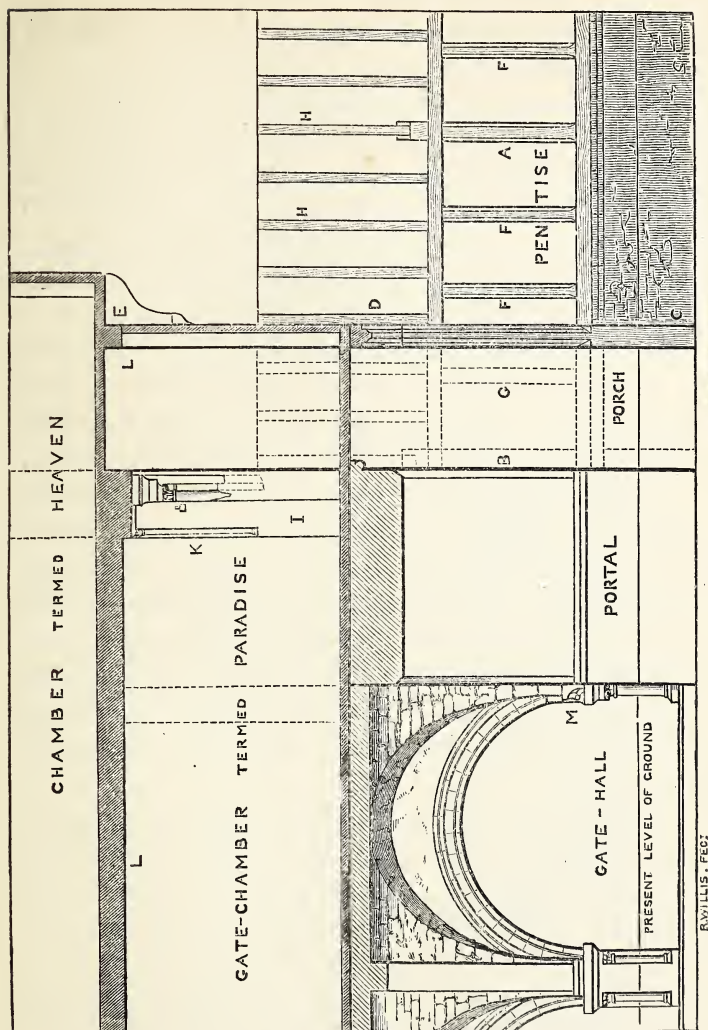


Fig. 24.—SECTION OF PART OF THE PENTISE GATEHOUSE.

by the wall of the Kitchen offices, with the above-mentioned Norman zigzag arch (6, Fig. 21), and partly by the wall at the angle of the Norman Kitchen, which was afterwards employed for the later Kitchen, and then received the buttresses, of which the lower parts (15, 16, Fig. 21) remain.

But these walls are not parallel to the west wall of

the passage and not in the same direction, as Fig. 21 shews. Also the transverse arch (4, 5) of the intruded vault is necessarily built obliquely across the passage, resting on a corbel-stone inserted above the abacus of the arcade at 4, and directed so as to clear, at the east impost, the Norman doorway at 5. The second transverse arch (2, 3), which completes the vaulted passage, rests in the same way upon the impost (2) and on an inserted corbel in the wall of the kitchen (at 3).

These facts shew that the Celerer's Hall, when first built, stood completely free of the Kitchen, as the Norman drawing delineates them. The deep Gateway or Portal joined the stair-turret of the Celerer's Hall, as now, but merely carried a pair of gates hinged against its southern face, which may therefore have been square-headed, as in the Norman drawing, which represents their south aspect, as is evident from the position of the wicket and the gable above the gates. The conversion of this into a complete Gatehouse, with an upper chamber over a vaulted Gate Hall, was an afterwork, but yet in the Norman time, and carried out in the manner described above.

The zigzag arch mentioned above supplies a passage from the Kitchen to the Gate Hall, and also from the Gate Hall to Chillenden's Chambers (18); and on the opposite side of that Hall, a doorway (11, Fig. 21), now walled up, led to the subvaults of the Celerer's Hall, or Guesten Hall, as this building is now generally called. The Porter's Lodge may have been fitted up either on the east or west side of the Gate Hall,—that is, either in the enclosed space within the zigzag arch or in the subvaults.

But the door to the subvaults gave access to the spiral staircase or vice contained in the square turret at the north-east angle of the Guest Hall. This vice was originally entered by a door in the angle of the subvaults

(10, Fig. 21), which was walled up when the site of that Hall passed into the King's hands and subsequently to the Archbishop at the Dissolution.¹

The turret itself is distinguished by a peculiar caprice of construction of which I know no other example, and will therefore endeavour to explain. The view of this turret in Fig. 29 shews two curved projections from its north face, which appear to be the outsides of niches or blind oriels. Their real nature is shewn by the plan and section annexed (Figs. 25 and 26), in which minor details are omitted. The turret in this section is supposed to be cut by a transverse vertical plane passing through the centre of the circular stair-well in the direction N.S. The eastern half of the turret walls are removed, as shewn by the shading of the plan; but the steps themselves of this eastern half remain undisturbed.

The plan shews that the turret is bounded externally by flat surfaces on the west, east, and south sides; but on the north side it bulges out with a cylindrical surface concentric with the stair-well,

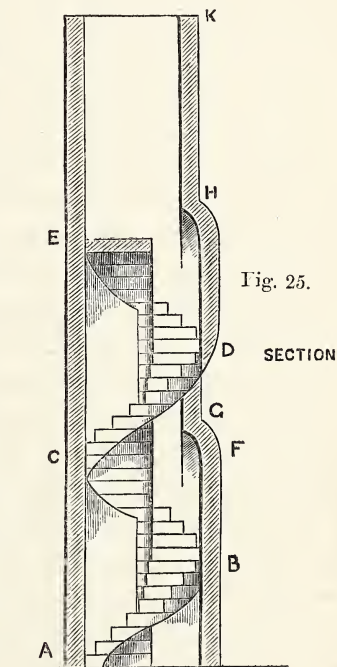


Fig. 25.

SECTION

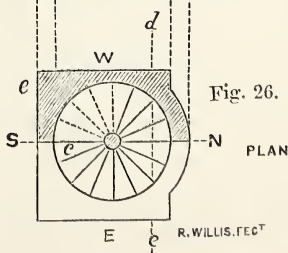


Fig. 26.

PLAN

R. WILLIS, F.E.C.T.

¹ Access to the bottom of these stairs was afterwards obtained by breaking a door into the turret from the Portal arch (at 9). But this was done long after the Gatchouse had merged into the Prebendal House.

which might have been carried up continuously to the top, but are interrupted by flat surfaces at G D and H K, the inner faces of which coincide with the dotted line *de* of the plan. The effect of this construction will be understood by following the course of a person entering the tower at the bottom by a door at the south-west corner. He would begin the ascent with the step *c* and with his face to the east, and proceed upwards to B, C, D, and E in succession. When passing the side B F, the semidome F G of the niche is high enough to clear the head of a tall man; but the flat surface D G merely serves to support the ends of the steps, and being on the opposite side to the person at C, does not offer obstruction to his passage. Similarly the passenger when at D is received in the shallow niche D H, and when he reaches the upper landing is completely clear of the flat wall K H. It is difficult to discover the reason for the introduction of this device.

Above the original doorway at the base of this vice, and at the level of the floor of the Guest Hall, is another doorway (24, Fig. 22), by which that Hall was reached from below. Ascending a little higher we come to a third doorway (25), which opens on the floor of the Paradise chamber over the Gate Hall at its north extremity, which lies over the deep portal. Before the vaulted Gate Hall was added, this doorway merely led to a platform or a small chamber over the Portal, which the Norman drawing represents with a gabled roof, apparently constructed of timber-work.

Re-entering the vice and ascending it we arrive at another doorway, which opened westward into a gallery or passage formed in the thickness of the north gable wall of the Guest Hall, of which only a small ruined portion remains, as shewn in Fig. 29.

The two doorways above described as opening from the vice to the floors of the Guest Hall and chamber over

the Gate Hall, respectively, provided an easy communication between these two apartments. It appears probable, therefore, that the latter may have been employed as a withdrawing-room to the Guest Hall from the beginning. When Chillenden's Chambers were built in contact with the east wall of this Pentise Gatehouse, the height of this withdrawing-room was reduced, and a second room built above it in the manner described below (Ch. VII. sect. 1). The pointed door of communication from the first floor of that building was then made to enable the Guests residing in the Chambers to reach the Guest Hall through this withdrawing-room (then named *Paradise*), which thus became part of the suite of chambers. Similarly a door of communication from the roof-floor of Chillenden's building was made to the new upper or Heaven-chamber of the gatehouse, from which a door led to the upper landing of the vice (E, Fig. 25), and thus downwards to the Guest Hall. These chambers thus became naturally included in the House of the seventh Prebendary at the Dissolution.

We must now return to the description of the Celerer's Hall or Guest Hall. It has been shewn that the basement wall is ornamented with an arcade, of which the two arches next to the Norman Gateway arch were absorbed in the Gate Hall. Beyond these, in the open space of the Celerer's Court, the arcade is continued in a series of six equal arches along the east wall southwards, a seventh narrower arch is succeeded by a doorway (68, Plate 3), beyond which two more arches terminate the series.

This doorway is adorned with sculptured work, now patched and dilapidated; but when in a more perfect condition was described by Somner, writing before the year 1640, as, "A fair door, over which is cut in the stonework the resemblance of the Holy Ghost, in the Dove's form, descending on our Saviour; and under his

feet the statue of an Archbishop (haply the Founder) in his pontificals."¹ When Somner wrote, this hall was perfect, but was in the hands of the Archbishop.

Hooked stone corbels² are fixed in the wall above the arcade and door, and shew that a roofed ambulatory was provided for the shelter of persons passing from the Court gate to this ornamental entrance doorway through the Pentise Gate.

The western or inner face of this wall has, at its southern extremity, two recessed arches of carefully finished Norman masonry within, corresponding with the two last arches without. The thin walls which close them now contain windows of pointed form. The southern gable is, with the exception of the bases and lower parts of the piers and walls, a piece of patch work of old fragments, employed merely to make good the party-wall between the Cathedral precincts and the Archbishop's land. But the lower parts of the piers shew that this end wall was provided within with finished Norman arches, like those of the western face of the side-wall. Also these Norman arches exhibit no appearance of the springing of vaults between them. It must be inferred from these particulars that this south portion of the building corresponding to the doors and arches was a vestibule of considerable height.

But the remainder of the inner face of this wall appears to have received a series of vaults, forming the usual substructure of monastic buildings, and sustaining the floor of the Hall. The springing of these vaults is easily seen at the north end, against the stair-turret³ (Fig. 29); and above, on the level of the first floor,

¹ Somner, p. 110.

² One of these is shewn above the arcade in Fig. 30.

³ In late years a great accumulation of garden-earth has been raised against the west or inner face of this north end, concealing and obliterating the remains of projecting piers which were visible when my plans and sketches were made in 1847.

the doorway remains which gave entrance to the Hall from the turret-stairs. Along the middle of the wall this springing is obliterated by a facing of flints applied to repair it in modern times. From these indications we may infer that the above-mentioned south vestibule contained a flight of steps, conducting the guests who entered the building through the ornamental door from the Celerer's Court to the floor of the Hall.

This Hall, it will be observed, is, at its south end in convenient proximity to the Convent Butteries and Celerage, beneath the great Refectory or Frater; and also, at its other extremity, is in communication with the Convent Kitchen.

The south-east angle of the Celerer's Hall is opposite to the north-west angle of the Refectory, and these two angles are connected by a segmental arch, about 26 feet span and 4 feet wide, of molded bricks. This arch lies in the direction of the end-wall of the Hall, and meets the Refectory diagonally between its corner buttresses. The upper line of the arch nearly corresponds to the floor of the Celerer's Hall, and also to the level of the old floor of the Refectory, both having been raised upon subvaults. It may therefore have carried a covered passage for direct access from one to the other.¹

In the Norman drawing (*vide* Plates 1 and 2), a short cloistered alley is formed in the south-east angle of the Celerer's Court, and is labelled "Locutorium;" its two branches extend, the one along the back-wall of the Kitchen passage, the other along the wall of the butteries. This cloister is drawn with simple arches resting

¹ In Gostling's time, this arch was backed on the south side by a wall which, as Wilkes's plan shews, served to enclose a separate garden between it and the great Cloister-wall. He tells us it was an alcove, so much like a chimney that it was often looked upon as having been built for that purpose; but he gives various reasons against this opinion, without venturing to supply one of his own.

on isolated pillars, and has been described above, under the head of "Refectory and Kitchen Court." (Ch. IV. sect. 3.)

CHAP. VII.

GREEN COURT.

1. *The Pentise.*

This was a roofed alley, built against the west boundary wall of the Green Court, in contact with the Porter's Lodge of the Court Gate at its north end, and with the front wall of the Pentise Gatehouse at its south end, so as to provide a sheltered passage from the city entrance of the Convent to that Gatehouse, which, as we have seen, is the portal of the Celerer's domain.

It is a wooden structure of the simplest form, but unmistakably mediæval in character. The Court wall is its western boundary; its eastern is a dwarf wall, capped with a course of masonry, upon which rests a wooden sill. The height of this wall above the ground is diminished by the great accumulation of soil, to about two feet at its southern end, but must originally have stood between four and five feet above the surface. The width of the alley between the two walls is eight feet.

The dwarf wall carries a wooden colonnade of plain chamfered posts, framed into the sill below (Fig. 24); sustaining a long plate or rail above, corresponding to a similar one on the wall of the Court. The roof is a high pointed one, with eaves discharging its rainwater into the Convent Court on one side and the Archbishop's Ground on the other. The height of the wooden colonnade from the top of the dwarf wall to the top of the upper plate is six feet.

The framing of the roof consists of principal and intermediate trusses. The principal trusses (Fig. 28) are placed at intervals of twelve feet, from centre to centre,

dividing the length of the Pentise into severies, and are constructed as follows:—

A tie-beam is framed into the wall plate at its west end, and into the similar plate or rail which is carried by the posts: at its east end, the tie is slightly raised in the middle, and is supported by two braces, curved below, so as to form portions of a semicircle struck from

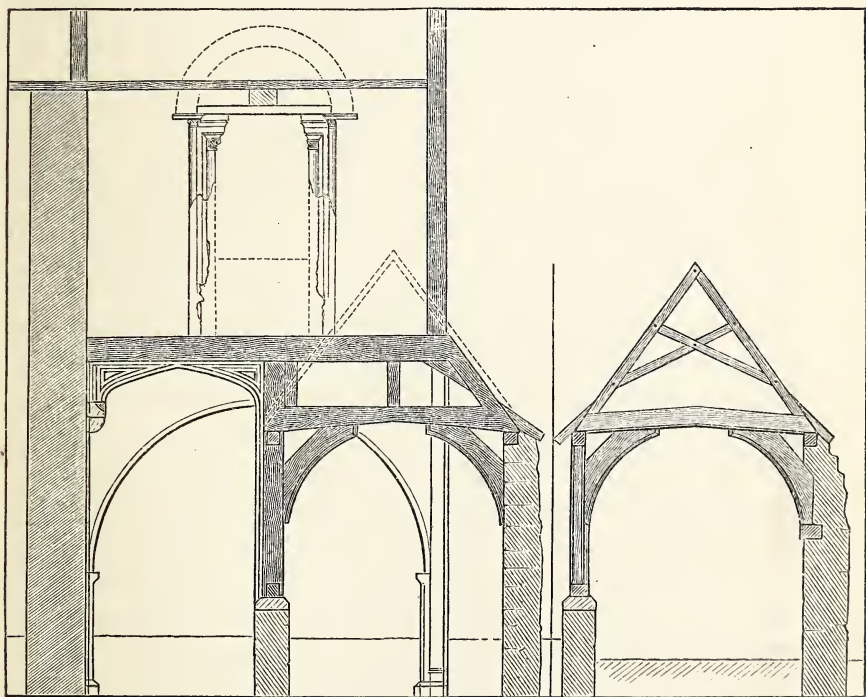


Fig. 27.—ELEVATION OF NORTH GABLE ON THE
LINE C D, Fig. 21.

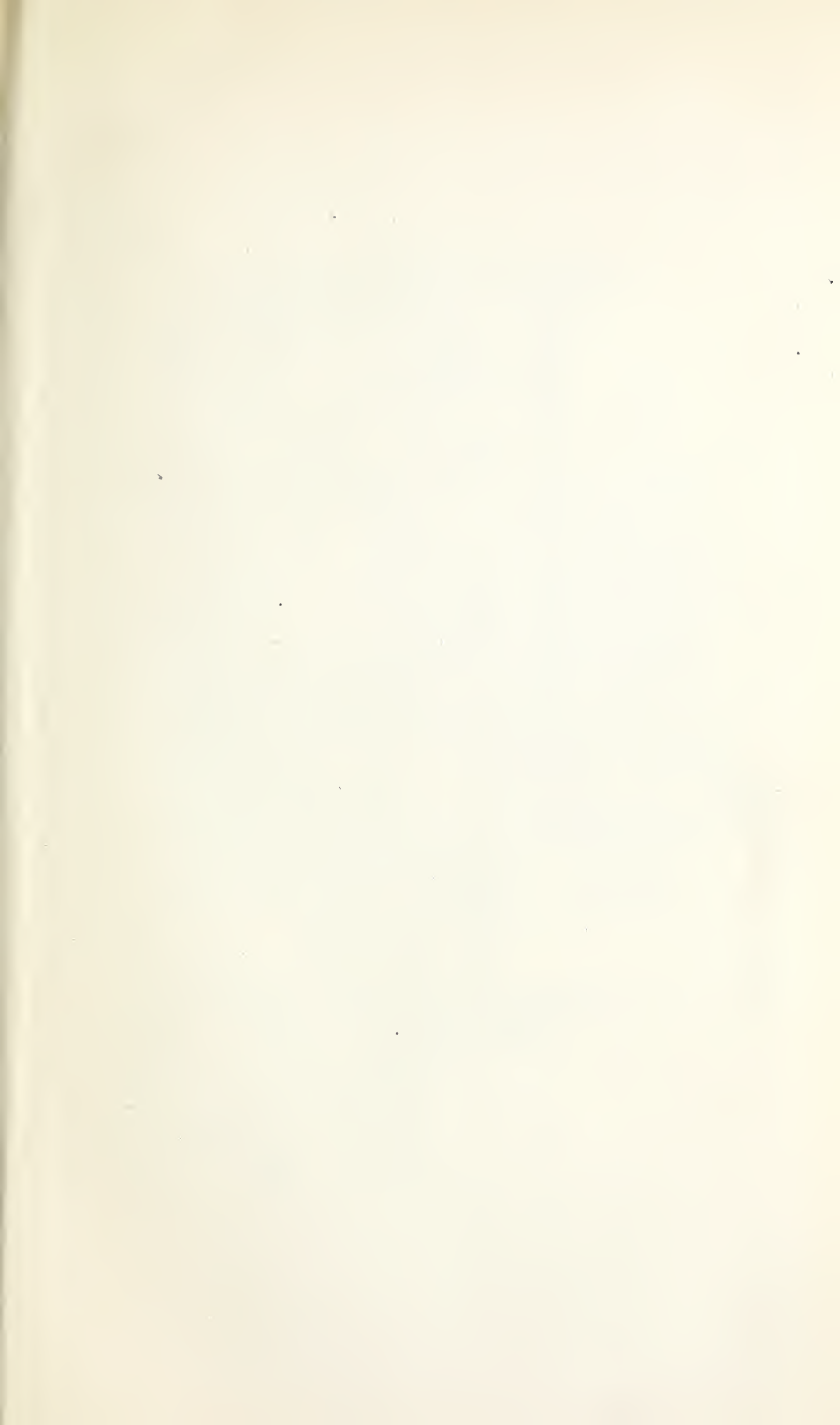
Fig. 28.—SECTION OF PENTISE
AT F E, Fig. 21.

a centre, which has a radius of four feet. These braced tie-beams firmly connect the open colonnade of the Pentise with the wall of the Court. The truss is completed by a slighter frame above the tie-beam, for the support of the covering materials of the roof. This slighter frame consists of two rafters, connected by a pair of intersecting braces, and framed to the tie-beam.

The intermediate trusses are exactly similar to this slighter frame, but the feet of their rafters are framed to the wall plate and rail, as they have no tie-beam. Six intermediate trusses are placed between each pair of principal trusses. Every principal truss rests directly over a post of the colonnade, which is made rather stouter than the intermediate posts. But there is no relation between the latter and the intermediate trusses, for there are six of these trusses and three of the posts between each principal post and truss, as the elevation (Fig. 24) and plan (Fig. 21) shew. The actual roof-covering is omitted altogether in the sketches.

To understand the junction of the Pentise with the Pentise Gatehouse, we must examine its present condition, which will shew us that the north front of that Gatehouse, which up to the end of the fourteenth century was entirely visible from the Green Court, became completely masked by the addition of the timber building now standing, the front (E, D, C, Fig. 24) of which is not only six feet in advance of the Norman wall (B), but has a second floor (L, E) placed over the original Gatehouse chamber, which floor overhangs the timber front below at E. The whole length of this second floor is covered with a long roof, finished with projecting eaves (shewn in Figs. 29 and 30). Thus the venerable stone Norman Gatehouse was converted to its present aspect, which resembles a picturesque fifteenth century grange of studwork. The exact construction and manner in which this additional structure is connected with the ancient masonry and Pentise, is shewn by the section (Fig. 24), and the lower part of the timber frame of the front is shewn in elevation (Fig. 27).

The Pentise is abruptly cut short to receive it, and the form of the frame is designed in such a way as to support its truncated extremity. The floor of the ancient upper chamber is extended beyond the face of the wall



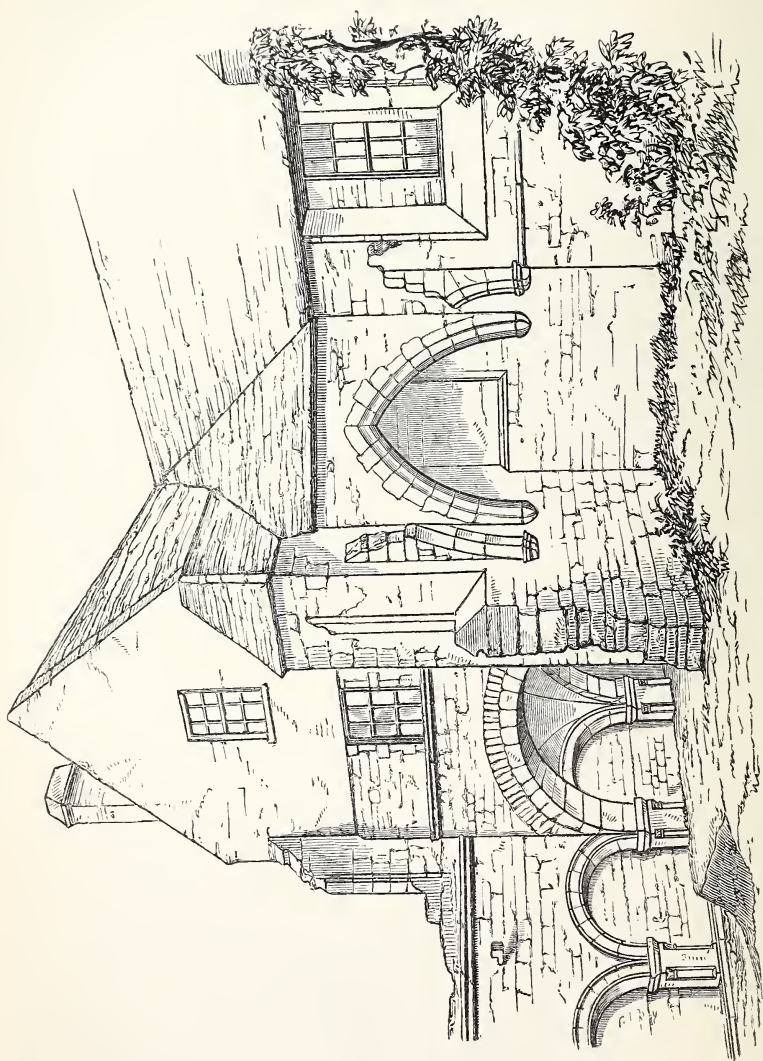


Fig. 30.—VIEW OF THE SOUTH GABLE OF THE PENTISE GATEHOUSE, WITH REMAINS OF THE KITCHEN.

to meet this timber frame, by which it is supported at D (Fig. 24); and thus a small closet, thirteen feet by five, is obtained, which at present has two sash windows in front.

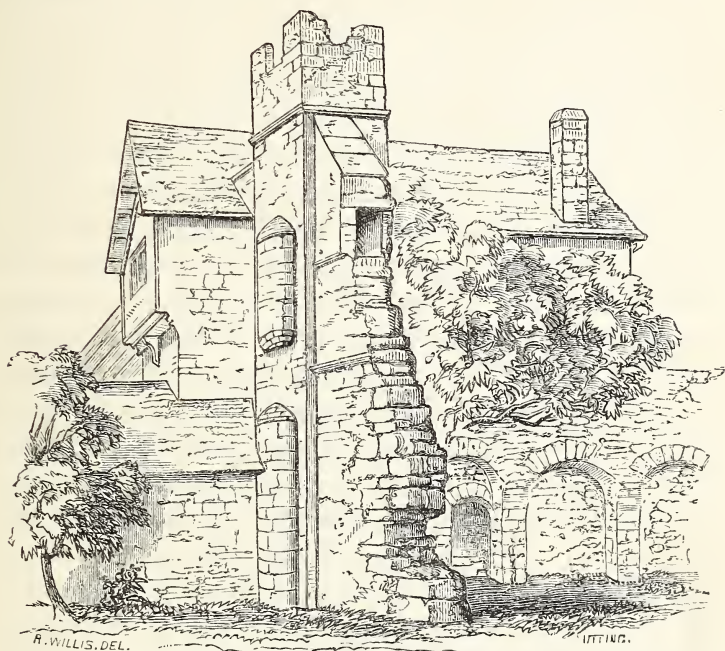


Fig. 29.—VIEW OF THE PENTISE GATEHOUSE, FROM THE NORTH-WEST, IN THE PALACE GROUNDS.

Before these changes this upper chamber was much higher and had probably an open roof. But this was now removed, in order to gain a second-floor chamber. The Norman north and south gables of this chamber were ruthlessly cut down to the level of this floor, which is sustained by them and carried outwards, resting on the top of the timber frame, and projecting beyond it, so as to form an overhanging gable, with brackets below. The lower part of the original Norman north wall of this first-floor chamber remains undisturbed, excepting that the sill wall of the window has been pulled down

to convert it into a doorway, the lower part of the shafts mutilated, and the arch-head of the window, indicated by dotted lines in Fig. 27, entirely destroyed.

That the Pentise, when first constructed, was carried up to the wall of the Gatehouse, is manifest from the following considerations. We have seen that the Pentise is divided into equal severies, each twelve feet in length, by principal posts and roof-trusses. Now, the southernmost of these principal frames (A, Fig. 24) is fixed at seven feet only from the framed front (C D) of the wooden house against which the Pentise now terminates, and the last intermediate post (F) is only a foot from this frame. Thus the last severy of the Pentise is abruptly truncated in its length in a manner that could not have been the work of the original builders. But referring to the Plan (Fig. 21), in which 22, 23 are two principal trusses of the Pentise roof, including one severy, it will be seen that the distance of 22 from the face of the Norman arch is precisely sufficient to contain another such severy. It may be concluded, therefore, that the Pentise when first set up was simply carried up to the face of the masonry, and terminated there, in the manner shewn by the dotted lines in the Section (Fig. 24) and Plan (Fig. 21). The dwarf wall was continued up to the face line of the Norman portal, dividing the archway into two halves, for the persons entering from the Pentise or from the open Court respectively. The last principal post (B, Fig. 24) stood at the end of the dwarf wall, and the roof of the Pentise was carried on to join the face of the Norman wall and turret, as indeed the western half of it still does (Fig. 29). Thus, the gable wall of the Gatehouse, with its ornamental Norman window over the portal, was not hidden at first.

It must be inferred that the order in which the works we are considering (namely, Chillenden's range of chambers, the long Pentise, and the substitution of the Para-

dise and Heaven chambers for the single Norman chamber of the Gatehouse) were carried on in the following order:—

The Pentise was first built and brought up complete to the Norman face of the Pentise gatehouse, at that time unaltered.

Next Chillenden's range of chambers was taken in hand, and it became manifest that additional space might be obtained by cutting down the north and south walls of the Norman chamber (perhaps ruinous) to the level of the upper floor or roof of Chillenden's building, so as to allow of this floor being extended over the chamber below. At the same time the porch and projecting elongations of the two new chambers above it were constructed, by which the Pentise was truncated in the awkward manner described above.

After the erection of the projecting timber front, the space below became a porch in front of the Norman portal arch, which received the passengers from the Pentise or the court as before.

In the present state of the House, the south end of the Pentise is employed as a shed for various domestic offices. The space occupied by the vaulted Gatehall, its portal, and the porch, shorn of about three feet of its original height by the accumulation of the ground, is now closed at both ends, and converted into a servants' hall and scullery,—a fate which so valuable and ancient an example of masonic methods does assuredly not deserve, but which, after all, may be preferable to a damaging restoration. The Turret Vice has become the back staircase to the chambers above, being entered from the servants' hall by the breach in the wall already mentioned.

The distance from the Norman face of the Pentise Gatehouse to the south side of the Norman Court Gate is about two hundred and forty feet, which, as each

severy of the Pentise occupies twelve feet, would give twenty severies in all. The exact mode of its junction with the latter Gatehouse is described below.

In Chillenden's List (sect. 23) we find, under the head of Repairs in the Curia or Green Court, "Certain repairs of the Celerer's Hall, with a *new passage* to the Gatehouse of the Curia and a repair of that Gatehouse."¹ His repairs of the Celerer's Hall have vanished with the destruction of the upper story of that edifice, but the jamb of a Perpendicular window, close to the south gable of the gatehouse (Fig. 30; and 35, Fig. 22), remains. The "new passage" is plainly the Pentise, and the "repair of the Court Gatehouse" applies to the upper story and the inserted gateway arches described below.

2. *Court Gatehouse.*

In the course of our survey we have now passed in detail and order through every part of the precinct, excepting the north end of the west side of the Green Court, and its north side. The Pentise along the west side has led us to the Court Gatehouse, already partly described (p. 124 above), beyond which is the North Hall, apparently erected, or at least commenced at the same time with it.

The "Court Gate" (plan, Fig. 31) is an excellent specimen of a pure Norman gatehouse, but has unfortunately lost its original upper chamber, that having been rebuilt by Chillenden.

The east and west faces of the Gatehouse in the Norman portion are flat, and have no projecting buttresses or turrets. The portal or gateway is a simple semicircle, ornamented in front by two shallow orders of shafts carrying narrow sculptured moldings. The flat

¹ "Quodammodo reparatio aule celerarii cum nova via ad Portam Curie, et reparatio ejusdem porte."

spandrel of the arch on each side has a shallow, arch-headed pannel and a circular pannel, bordered with zigzag.¹ The soffit of the gateway arch is plain and deep.² The Gate Hall is vaulted with a plain waggon vault, divided into two severies by a plain, broad, transverse rib, springing from pilasters of the same dimensions.

The outer walls of Chillenden's upper chamber are plain, and it has at the west end a high perpendicular window of two lights, with a transom, and at the east a low window of six lights—a restoration, apparently, of the old one. Its roof timbers consist of plain tie-beams, with curved braces below at each end in the usual manner, carrying a flat roof slightly raised in the middle. This chamber was originally reached by a staircase from the floor of the North Hall, which still remains.

The Porter's Lodge of the Court Gate was a subsidiary building of Perpendicular date, on the south side, as shewn in the Plan (Fig. 31), and entered by a pointed doorway (D) from the Gate Hall. Its eastern wall (C) retains a small portion of the south wall. This exhibits a fragment of Perpendicular molding, apparently belonging to a doorway. These remains are enclosed

¹ In the Norman drawing circular openings are shewn in the gables of the north-west transept of the Chapter House, the Dormitory, and the Brewhouse and Granary, where we find an arch headed slit or pannel, flanked by two circular pannels or openings. The pediment of the Gatehouse we are considering is drawn with a two-light window and three of these circular pannels, which, although in all these cases simply delineated as round black spots, are in all probability intended for such pannels as those now remaining, which may have been originally openings to light the spandrels of the vault within.

² The entire depth of the portal is seven feet six inches, of which five feet three inches is plain soffit. The span of the arch is but two feet less than the width of the Gate Hall behind it, which is seventeen feet eight inches. The entire length of this gatehouse from east to west is thirty-six feet; the lengths of the Pentise Gatehouse and of the Christchurch Gatehouse, thirty-one feet and twenty-seven feet, and the breadth of their halls, fifteen feet and nineteen feet. The deep, plain, waggon vaulted portals of the two Norman gates assimilate them to the Gatehouse of the Abbaye aux Dames at Caen, founded by Lanfranc. (*Vide* Pugin's 'Normandy.')

in the house now assigned to the Auditor. Somner's Note to the 6th Stall in the Distribution Document ('Appendix,' No. VIII.), tells us that under the Court Gate, southwards, was not only a door opening into the

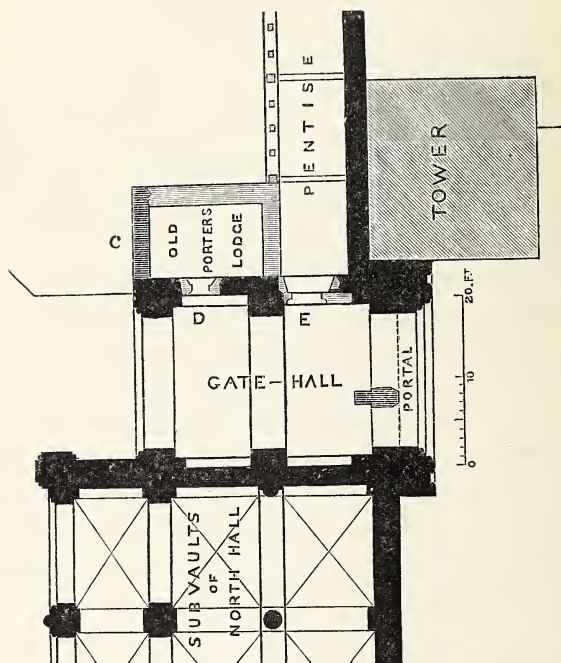


Fig. 31.—PLAN OF COURT GATE, ETC.

then Porter's Lodge, but also another door (E) opening into that long entry or Pentise. This doorway still remained when I drew the plan Fig. 31, and was only lately removed. It was a pointed arch, with a single hollow molding, like those of the inserted gate-arches. The Porter's Lodge was removed to the north side, as till lately, in 1550.

3. *North Hall or Aula Nova.*

The Norman entrance gateway which we have considered above appears to have been built at the same time

with the long Hall that extended northward from the Gate Tower to the ancient boundary line of the Convent. This Hall is labelled "*Aula Nova*" in the Norman drawing, and termed the *Hogg Hall* in the Distribution Document, 1546, in which it is described as "y^e whole Lodging that Mr. Crosse had beneath and above with all manner of roomes within y^e gate, called y^e Hogg Hall, the whole garden with the vaults and towne wall." It is termed the *North Hall* in a charter of Henry VI. (Somner, 112), and "the *great Hall next the Court Gate*" amongst the works of Prior De Estria in 1290, who repaired it.

Somner, not having seen the Norman drawing, was misled into applying the name "*Domus Hospitum*" in the Chapter Documents to this building, and on his authority Gostling retained it, although he wrote after the publication of that drawing, which he frequently mentions.

The Hall itself was a genuine specimen of the Norman form, being raised upon a vaulted substructure, and having access to its floor by an external staircase. The substructure was vaulted with plain transverse arches and groins. The entire length of the building, when complete, was one hundred and fifty-four feet, according to my measurement, from the south outer corner to the north, and about one hundred and forty-six internally; its breadth externally forty-two feet, and internally thirty-six feet. The form of the vaults of the substructure shewed that the Hall above must have consisted of a body twenty-five feet broad, with a single side-aisle on the east.

By planning and measuring the scattered fragments of this edifice, I found the number of its transverse severies or compartments to have been nine,¹ as my Plan

¹ Gostling supposes the number to have been ten, but had evidently taken no measurements to determine the real facts. The buttresses against the west side of the wall were built in 1566 (pp. 153, 157, 159).

shews. The body of the Hall was on the west side, and the vaults beneath it in two ranges sustained by a row of cylindrical Norman pillars, placed along the middle of its length. The substructure of its side aisle was but nine feet wide, and the wall that divided the aisle from the body of the substructure was an arcade of square-edged, plain Norman arches, resting on square piers. The southern compartment was till lately occupied by the porter, and preserves that portion of the vaulted substructure. It is now used as a schoolroom.

On the first-floor the wall, which is common to the Norman gateway and the great Hall, retains the respond of the row of pier arches which separated the body of the Hall from its single side-aisle.¹ If their piers rested on those of the vault below, there would have been nine pier arches. But one of the piers built into the wall of the house, behind the Norman staircase, is visible externally, and apparently in its original position; and this pier stands nearly over the middle of the subvault arch. This shews that there were only eight pier arches. The pier and respond are of very late Norman, or Early English style.² The archspring, of which a fragment remains above, shews the pier arches to have been of a single order, with plain chamfered edges.

The superstructure of the Porter's lodge was a building of lath and plaster in 1843, engraved in 'Summerly's Handbook' (p. 106). Subsequently the late Mr. Austin raised a modern Norman façade of stone above the old arches, which still remains.

¹ The ancient building called Eastbridge Hospital, in High Street, founded to give every pilgrim a night's lodging and entertainment at the expense of 4*d.*, consists of a Hall with one side-aisle and a row of pier arches, the whole standing on a crypt. This appears to shew that the construction was usual for lodging poor pilgrims.

² Their height from pavement to archspring seven feet six, with shafts, octagonal in one and cylindrical in the other, four feet ten high, and one foot eight inches in diameter.

The Norman staircase which projects from the fourth severy on the south is a unique and beautiful example of highly enriched Norman, and has been often engraved.¹ It has fortunately escaped destruction hitherto. Storer's view of this Norman staircase in 1813 (pl. 10), exhibits on the south side a portion of the wall of the Hall, at that time employed as the Registry, which retained above the Norman substructure a large Early English window. This window has a richly molded pointed arch-head of one order on shaft, with cylindrical base, plinth, and capital as usual. The window opening is square-headed, and the tympanum above its transom has a sunk circular pannel, with Early English moldings, containing an ornamental device, obscurely indicated in the sketch, which unfortunately contains little more than half the breadth of the window. It may be supposed that windows of this pattern were employed along the whole east front of the building, and were introduced when the new superstructure with the above-mentioned pointed arches was erected.

But it is not improbable that this Aula Nova, although shewn as a finished building in the Norman drawing, was not completely carried up to its roof at that time, and that the great fire of 1174, by concentrating all building works upon the church, postponed the erection of the superstructure of the Aula to the first years of the Early English style.

Gostling, who was born about the year 1696, informs us that the north part of this Hall was pulled down in 1730. He says that "this portion, which was the house of the ninth prebendary, was fitted up for his use by floors and partitions, and afterwards by exchange became that of the Auditor; but was disagreeably situated and con-

¹ Carter's 'Ancient Architecture.' Storer's 'Cathedrals,' vol. i. pl. 10. Turner's 'Domestic Architecture,' p. 42. Rickman's 'Gothic Architecture,' 6th edit. p. 145. Felix Summerly, 'Handbook of Canterbury,' 1843, p. 108.

trived, and was given up to the Dean and Chapter in that year. It was between fifty and sixty feet long, and about forty broad, and was taken down with the vaults under it, and other chambers and offices, and the materials sold.”¹ As Gostling knew the building and witnessed its demolition, we may accept his description of it as “a very large and lofty room, much like some of our parish churches, having one-third of its breadth parted by pillars and arches of stone (like a side-aisle), which were continued for the length of the whole building, and are to be seen in what remains of it.”²

“The porter of the Green Court Gate,” he continues, “had his Lodge on the south side of the gate, but was removed to the opposite side of it”³ (Somner’s note to the 6th Stall in the ‘Distribution Document’ informs us of this removal in 1550, ‘Appendix,’ No. 8). Three of the vaults the breadth of the building are taken up by this Lodge, and the three next to them by a way to the Almonry or Mint Yard.”

These passages, written by a contemporary of the alteration, are valuable for the observation that the plan of a body with a single aisle was extended from one end of the Hall to the other.

The purpose of this Hall has never been exactly discovered, except that it was employed in the middle ages for holding the Steward’s courts at intervals of three weeks. But placed as it is close to the entrance gate and at the most remote corner of the precinct from the monastic buildings and the church, I have already declared my opinion, in Chap. III. above, that it was intended to accommodate the lowest class of pilgrims or persons who craved hospitality.

It was erected in the twelfth century, when, as Hudson Turner⁴ informs us, “the Great Hall, generally

¹ Gostling, p. 155.

² Ibid., p. 153.

³ Ibid., p. 154.

⁴ Domestic Architecture, p. 2.

on the ground-floor, was sometimes over a lower story which was half in the ground, and was adapted in great mansions to accommodate the owner and his numerous followers and servants: *They not only took their meals in the hall, but also slept in it on the floor.*" Such being the manners of the early centuries, it appears that a plain Hall was enough to supply all the requirements of lodging and sleeping of the lower orders, at least, of the pilgrims. Lenoir ('Architecture Monastique,' t. ii. p. 397), describing the distributions of food and alms to the poor, relates that in the lesser monasteries they were made in an outer court or in a chamber appropriated to the purpose and termed the Almonry; but that in the great abbeys a special house, called the "house of the pilgrims and paupers," was built close to the principal entrance of the monastery. Referring to the plan of S. Gall (*vide* Archl. Journal, vol. v.), he contrasts the sleeping-chambers of the Hospitium for travellers of the higher classes, each of which is furnished with several beds, with the unfurnished Dormitory of the poor pilgrims, in which he infers that they slept on the floor upon straw.

4. *Brewhouse, Bakehouse, and Stables.*

The north boundary of the Green Court retains an oblong range of building, with a high pitched roof, which has a gatehouse, projecting from its face near its east end. The passage under this gatehouse divides the building into two unequal parts. But the gatehouse furnishes an entrance to the stable yards and servants' offices behind, which are concealed from view by the range of buildings we are considering, which manifestly occupy the site of the buildings in the Norman drawing.

In that we see a long edifice divided by a wall into two parts, and standing on the north side of the Court, at a distance of about seventy feet from the old precinct wall and one hundred feet from the city wall.

The western portion is labelled BRACINUM, or Brew-house; the eastern is the PISTRINUM, or Bakehouse. Next to these, with a small interval, is the GRANARIUM, or Granary, ranging in front with the others.

The space between this Granary and the Bakehouse is that which is now filled by the tower gateway, termed the Forrens Gate. The Brewhouse and Bakehouse retained these functions at the time of the Dissolution. For this range was assigned to the Dean, and described as “all the *Brewhouse and the Bakehouse*, and all other houses unto the Dean’s Stable, and the Gatehouse there next to his stables.” These Stables were on the site of the Norman Granarium.

The entries in the documents that belong to this region are as follows:—

De Estria, New Buildings and Repairs.	1285 to 1290.	Magna grangia ad fenum. Great Barn for hay.
	1301.	Novum stabulum Thesaurarii cum solarario et parvo granario. New Stable for the Treasurer, with upper chamber and small Granary.
	1303.	Novum granarium in bracino. New Granary in the Brewhouse or Malt-house.
	1317.	Pro novo bracino cum granar’, et camino, &c. For the new Brewhouse and Granary, with chimney, &c.

In Chillenden’s list, under “Repairs in the Curia,” are found—

1390 to 1411. “Reparacio domus bracini Nova sartrina Novum granarium Novum stabulum Prioris Novum orrium pro feno Prioris.”

That is to say,—repair of the Brewhouse, new Tailor’s Shop, new Granary, new Stable for the Prior, new Barn for the Prior’s hay. The Pistrinum does not appear in these entries, but the whole building west of the Gate-way is included in the term “Domus bracini.”

The architectural character of this range fully bears out the above documentary quotations. Its style is Decorated on the whole, but has Perpendicular insertions and repairs. The east part (the ancient "granarium") beyond the gateway has no architectural character. The Bracinum retains the projecting porch, which is an admirable dated specimen of De Estria's style, and of which I subjoin a sketch (Fig. 32). Being in a decayed con-

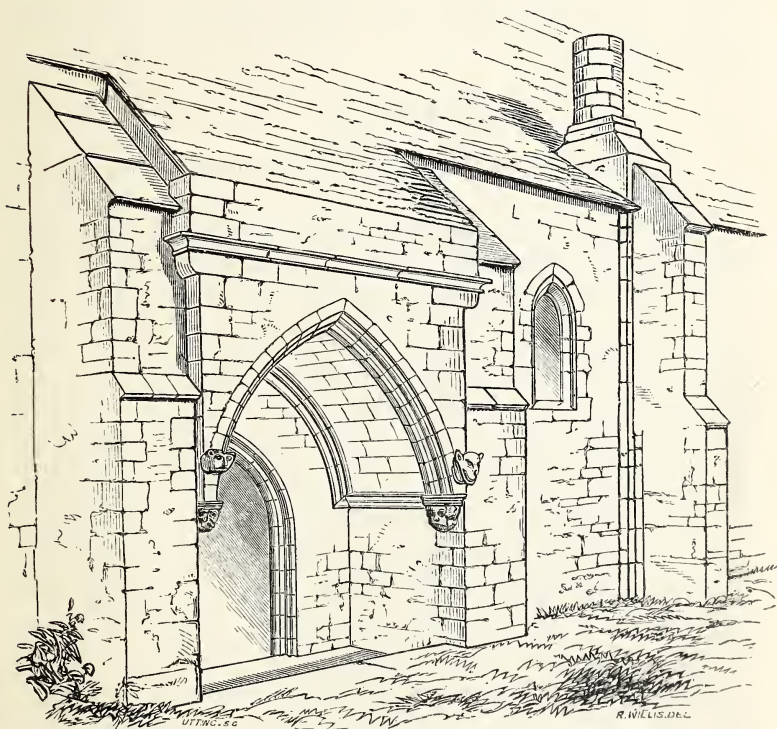


Fig. 32.—PORCH OF THE BRACINUM.

dition, it has been during the last year partly restored. Four buttresses are in front of this portion, and between the last and the projecting gateway two square Perpendicular windows are inserted, the one with two lights, the other of a single light, foliated, but not of the same width as the other.

The Gatehouse termed "the Forrens Gate" has a wide four-centred arch, with continuous moldings of the same section as those at the west end, and a small pointed postern arch at the side. Its Gate Hall is not vaulted. Above is a chamber with an ordinary square small Perpendicular window of two lights.

The space between the Brewhouse and Stable buildings and the city wall bears the name of the *Forrens*. But this term is confined in Wilkes's plan to the tower in the city wall behind these buildings, which he labels *y^e forrens*.¹

CHAP. VIII.

ALMONRY AND SOUTH SIDE OF CHURCHYARD.

The whole of the ancient buildings that occupied the Almonry or Mint Yard have been demolished in the late alterations, to make room for more complete and convenient edifices for the King's School. They had been so often altered that they presented no features in illustration either of the history of architecture or the monastic economy. In my plan I have retained the outlines of these buildings, and beg to refer for their history to the well-known authorities. The King's School, founded by Henry the Eighth, and located in the buildings on the east side of the Mint Yard, was afterwards transferred to the Chapel of the Almonry, which stood on its south side. Its site is at 84 (Plate 3).

But the old schoolhouse before the Dissolution was a Free School, for the city chiefly, and was on the right-hand, just within the gate which divided the outer from

¹ The word is defined in the Glossaries to mean a necessary house (*vide* Hearne's 'Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle,' 1724, p. 650), which was probably true for the tower in question. But Hasted derives the term, which is now applied to the whole stable-yard, from the fact that that region is on the part of the site which anciently was outside the Convent boundary, and therefore "foreign" to the jurisdiction of the Church (pp. 573, 575).

the inner cemetery (at 98, Plate 3). There was a passage to it from Burgate Street,¹ of which more below. After the removal of the school to the Mint Yard it was fitted up as a new plumbery, as Gostling informs us (p. 135).

The *Plumbarium*, or plumbers' workshop, is twice mentioned in the documents; first in De Estria's list (1285-90) of works,—“New chamber in the old plumbarium, with hood and chimney;” and secondly, in Chillenden's list (1390-1411),—“New sacristy in the cemetery, with a new plumbarium.” Its locality is indicated in the Distribution document, by which the ninth prebendary is to have “Mr. Coks lodging, with the *Plumery* and close and gardens impaled upon the hill, to the School's garden,” the hill being the base of the Campanile in the Norman drawing.²

The Plumbarium was therefore at IX. (Fig. 3), which is the site of the ninth Prebendary's house. Lead is so plentifully employed about the great churches and offices of a convent for the roofs, window glazing, water channels, and pipes that a *Plumbarium* was a necessity, although very rarely mentioned in monastic records.

The last building which remains to be mentioned is Christ Church Gatehouse (94), the principal entrance to the Precinct from the city, leading directly across the churchyard, or “exterior cemetery,” to the south porch of the nave. It is a noble specimen of the Perpendicular period, with the advantage of a contemporary inscription, fixing its date at A.D. 1517, in the time of Prior Goldston II. It is much loftier than the Norman gateways, having two stories of chambers above its hall, and towers at the angles of its front. It is entered by a wide gateway arch, flanked by a postern doorway.

¹ *Vide* Somner, p. 105.

² This Campanile, in one shape or other, existed up to Leland's time, for he tells us it is “now a late elene pulled down.” (Itin., vol. vi., f. 3, p. 6.)

Its Gate Hall differs from the Norman gateways by its plan, which is a square, nineteen feet across. It is covered with a ribbed vault in two severies. On the west side, close to the postern, is a door which leads to a vice in the turret, and in the same wall, near the north corner, is a niche in the wall with a seat. Somner (p. 105) shews that this gate replaced a more ancient one on the same spot, because it stands opposite a dwelling-house which in 1257 is recorded to have stood opposite to the Church Gate of that period. But he mentions a more ancient gate, standing higher up, somewhat near Burgate, a good part of which in his time was remaining, but built up into part of a dwelling-house. Battely alludes to this gate (p. 89), which in the old charters was called the old gate of the cemetery, and informs us that anciently there was a direct passage or street open from the east end of St. Andrew's Church, through the Corn Market and Butter Market, directly leading to this gate. The house of Alderman Garling¹ was built in this old gateway, which was called St. Michael's Gate, as leading from St. Michael's Street (Burgate?) to St. Michael's Chapel in the south cross aisle of the church. The last characteristic of the passage seems to identify it with that which still remains at 97 in my plan (Plate 3), and points directly to this south transept. This appears to be the passage which, as Somner tells us, led to the old School.

The oldest cemetery gate from the town, as shewn in the Norman drawing, stood in the line of the original Precinct, near the spot marked 99 in Plate 3 (which corresponds to the position of the Norman "*porta cimiterii*" in Plate 2), about one hundred and forty feet

¹ It is amusing to find Somner and Battely describing, for the information of posterity, the position of the gates, by referring them to the street houses under the now forgotten names of the then inhabitants,—Alderman Nicholson, Alderman Garling, Mr. Fidge, etc.

north of the line of Burgate Street, and must have been approached from that street by an open lane, in the same manner as the Green Court Gate was, until the last alterations, approached by a narrow lane between the Almonry Chapel and Palace wall.

The gateway between the inner and outer cemetery remained in the position (Plate 3) given to it in the Norman drawing until the first half of the present century, when it was taken down and rebuilt in the line of the old Convent garden wall at 2. It is simply a stone archway, with massive piers. It has an opening ten feet wide, and a total depth of eight feet. Its west and east faces have a pair of slender shafts, bearing a single order of moldings. The passage through it is splayed, widening eastward, and there is a rebate to hang the gates. But if they were really hung there they must have been straight-headed, not rising higher than the impost of the arch, for the passage has a plain waggon vault. The Norman drawing representing, in all probability, this very gate, gives a pair of doors with ornamental hinges and fitting the arch-head. If this be a true representation, these doors must have opened outwards like those of a coach-house.

The gateway is crowned with a pediment, or triangular gable. Storer ('Portfolio,' v. iii., 1824) gives a sketch of this archway before it was moved from its old position, viewed from the east. At this period the gables had assumed the Jacobean form made up of curved lines and angles. Its Norman decoration is of the same kind as that of the Green Court Gate.

CHAP. IX.

ARCHBISHOP'S PALACE.

In my general plan (Plate 3) I have inserted the positions of the few fragments of the Archbishop's Pa-

lace that remain. It will be seen that a great hall occupied the south side of a large courtyard, and was entered, as usual, by a projecting porch (89), which still remains. It has moldings of the Early English period, which justify the tradition that the original Palace was partly built by Archbishop Hubert or Langton. Next to the street is or was (at 87) the remains of an entrance gateway to this courtyard, and of a larger building (at 88), of which the purpose is unknown. The distribution of the space on the south of the Hall is not altogether unknown. The Hall extended nearly to the Convent wall eastward, and on the south are buildings (90, 91) containing some of the apartments that constituted the habitable part of the Palace. They are of late style, and of little or no value, either as architectural or for historical studies.

The Palace itself was burnt accidentally, with its appended buildings, and left in ruin until Archbishop Parker came to the See, in 1559. He rebuilt the Great Hall and Palace, but when the Puritans came into power the whole was pulled down or converted into tenements, which have been ever since leased out to tenants. The whole site now belongs to the Dean and Chapter. The site of the Celerer's Hall (70, 71, 64, 63) lies within a garden, of which its eastern and southern walls form part of the boundary. The site of the Celerer's Lodgings (57, 58, 61, 62) is used as a store-place for old materials.

Grose, writing in 1769 (*Antiq.*, vol. iii. p. 4), says "The hall was a right-angled parallelogram, its north and south sides measuring eighty-three feet, its east and west sixty-eight feet. It is now a garden, the roof, and even some of the bounding walls, being demolished; that on the east side is still standing, wherein are two Gothic canopies of Sussex marble, supported by pillars of the same, probably designed for beaufets or side-

boards, the tops of which, growing ruinous, have been in part taken down. Along this side runs a terrace raised on fragments of marble pillars, piled one upon the other, like billets on a woodstack. . . . The traces of the original north wall are still visible."

Gostling, a contemporary of Grose, states (p. 129) that on the outer side of the east wall of the hall just described were the remains of a cloister of five arches, eleven feet wide. According to the same authority, communication between the Palace and the Churchyard was cut off by a high embattled wall, extending to the Arundel Steeple (N), until a door was broken through in the seventeenth century. He also mentions a lofty house opposite the west door of the cloister, connected by a noble gallery with the Great Hall. This house, built or repaired by Archbishop Parker, retained traces of a sheltered way to the west door of the cloister, by which the Archbishop might go from his palace to the church, without being incommoded by bad weather (Gostling, p. 131). The house and appendages (90, 91) are possibly parts of those alluded to in the above description.

In the Appendix (No. 7) I have given an unpublished document from Reg. 12 in the Archives, which is a report of the repairs necessary for the Palace in the middle of the fourteenth century. It contains an enumeration of the various apartments therein, and the repairs they needed, which serves to elucidate the mode in which such documents were framed. It was drawn up to determine the amount of dilapidations when Archbishop Islip succeeded Ufford in 1349, whose administrators were sentenced to pay the sum of £1101 5s. 2d., as Battely relates (p. 72). The apartments enumerated are the Great Hall, the Chapel, the small chamber of the Lord Archbishop, the Great Chamber, the kitchen for that chamber, the great house

called the Hall of St. Thomas next the Lord's Chamber, the chamber next the Great Hall, two other chambers between the Great Hall and Great Chamber, the Great Kitchen, the Great Gate, with Stables.

Views of the ruins of portions of the Palace are given in several works on Canterbury,—*e. g.*, Grose, *Antiq.* vol. iii. p. 4; Storer, pl. 8; and Woolnoth.

CHAPTER X.

WATERWORKS.

The details of the system of water distribution given in the Norman drawings have not been examined by any writer, as far as I know. They have always appeared to me to offer a most valuable record of the state of hydraulic practice in the twelfth century, and a monument of the care with which the monks studied practical science, and applied their knowledge for the benefit of their own health and comfort and of mankind in general. I shall now therefore endeavour to trace the entire system as well as my knowledge of the site and buildings will enable me to do it.

In describing the receptacles of the water in the system, it will be convenient to employ the word "*tank*" as a general term for a fixed vessel into which water is supplied by a *feed-pipe*, the opening of which is sufficiently above the highest level at which the water is required to stand, which water is kept from overflowing by a *waste-pipe*, the opening of which coincides with that level. The water is drawn from the tank for use from one or more apertures at or near the bottom of it.

Laver is the English term for the *Lavatorium* of the monks, and I confine it to express the large tank of ornamental form, from which the water either spouts continually at certain points of its circumference or is drawn off by means of several metallic cocks. The

word *Lavatorium* is not used in the Norman drawing, but is applied in Chillenden's list to the great tank in the middle of the south side of the Infirmary cloister, miscalled the Baptistery. In the Norman drawing the word *fons* is applied to the circular tank in the outer churchyard, and to another circular tank belonging to the Prior. A second circular tank for the Prior is termed *cupa*, a tub; and the great fish-pond, which is also a "tank," according to the definition I have given, is termed *piscina*.

The cloister garths of the early churches were furnished with wells, which at first were placed in the centre of them, but in later ages against the front of the cloister alleys, either in the middle or at one of the corners, for the greater convenience of the monks' ablutions, and covered with a roof or vault, sustained on open arches. Lenoir gives plans and drawings of such arrangements at Batalha and Montreal and elsewhere (p. 311 *et seq.*), and Leduc (art. 'Lavabo,' p. 171) the plans of two which project from the centre of the alley, namely, at Thoronet and Fontenay.

The wells shewn in the Norman drawing in the Infirmary cloister and outer cemetery are therefore the original provisions for water before the hydraulic system was constructed, and, as the inscription on the former shews, were retained in reserve, to serve when the new sources happened to fail or their machinery to require repair. The well in the cemetery was probably meant for the use of the inhabitants of the city, and the stone cistern or tank shewn by the side of it in the drawing, which is supplied by the hydraulic system, was constructed for the same purpose.

In both the Norman drawings, the course of the water from its source to the city wall is represented in exactly the same manner, so as to shew that the two are the work of the same artist. In my engraving of

the smaller drawing (Fig. 33), I have introduced letters of reference, and applied the same respectively to the position of the tanks in the Plan, Plate 2. The source is indicated by a circle (A), near which is a circular conduit-house (B), into which the water is conducted. It leaves it by a pipe, which is covered by a circular pierced plate, to exclude gross impurities. In its passage to the city wall, it passes, in succession, through five reservoirs, or *settling-tanks*, as they are now termed. Each of these (lettered from C to G) is oblong, and placed transversely to the general course of the pipes. Each length of pipe leaves its reservoir at the east end of the side, and enters the next at the west end of its side.

The employment of such tanks is in accordance with the practice of the ancients, as recorded by Vitruvius (l. viii. c. 6), who informs us that, in constructing cisterns to receive rain or other water, their method was to make several, one after the other, through which the water was to pass, so that the sediment might remain in those at the beginning of the series, and the water become clear by the time it arrived at the last. The course from the conduit to C and D is inscribed *campus*, and has a representation of growing corn. From D to E it passes through a vineyard (*vineæ*), with the conventional representation of vines; and from E to F is an orchard (*Pomerium*) with growing trees. The last settling-tank (G) is placed against one of the towers of the city wall. An edifice resembling a bridge is built over the city moat, probably to protect the pipe from injury.

The water, which was conducted to the monastery from its source as described, was distributed to the different places that required it, either by filling certain tanks or cisterns there fixed, or else by providing at those places short vertical pipes soldered to the main-pipes underground, from the upper ends of which it issued.



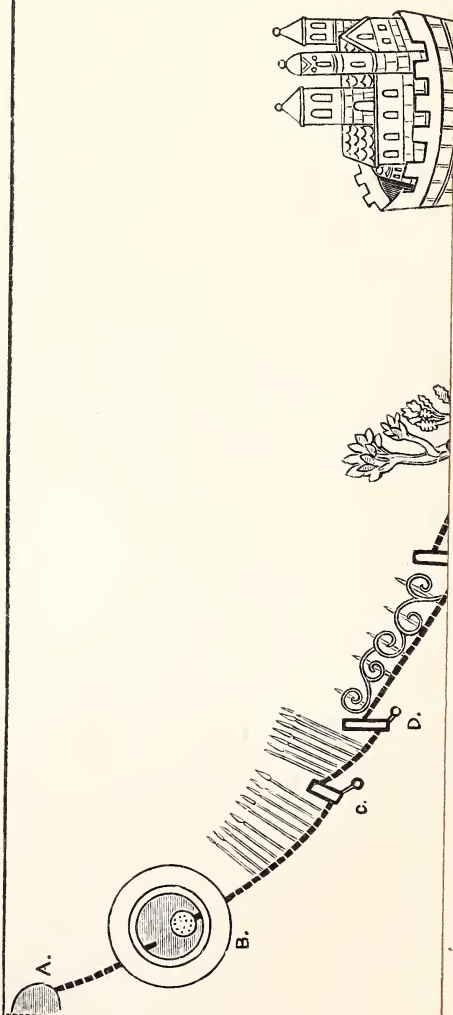


Fig. 33.—REDUCED FACSIMILE OF THE SMALL NORMAN DRAWING OF THE WATERWORKS. (Scale, one-half of the original.)

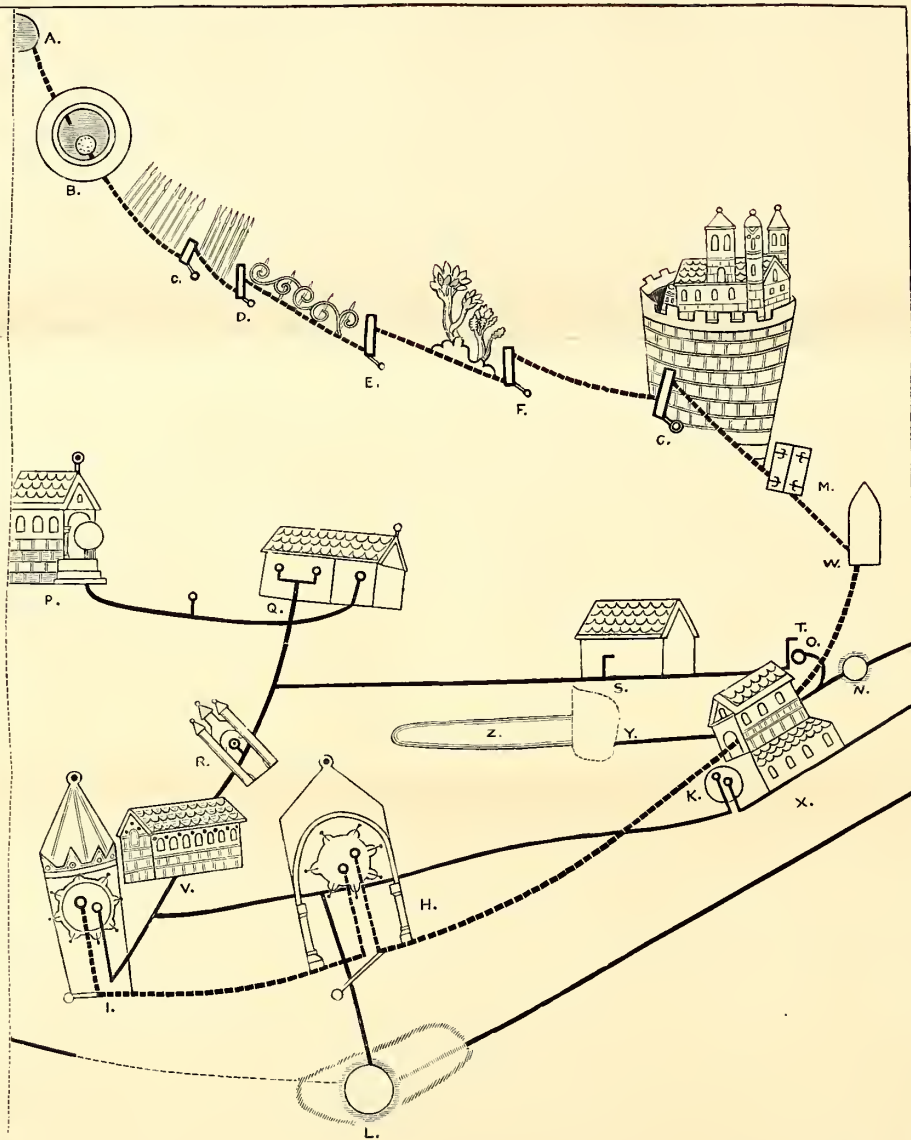


Fig. 33.—REDUCED FACSIMILE OF THE SMALL NORMAN DRAWING OF THE WATERWORKS. (Scale, one-half of the original.)

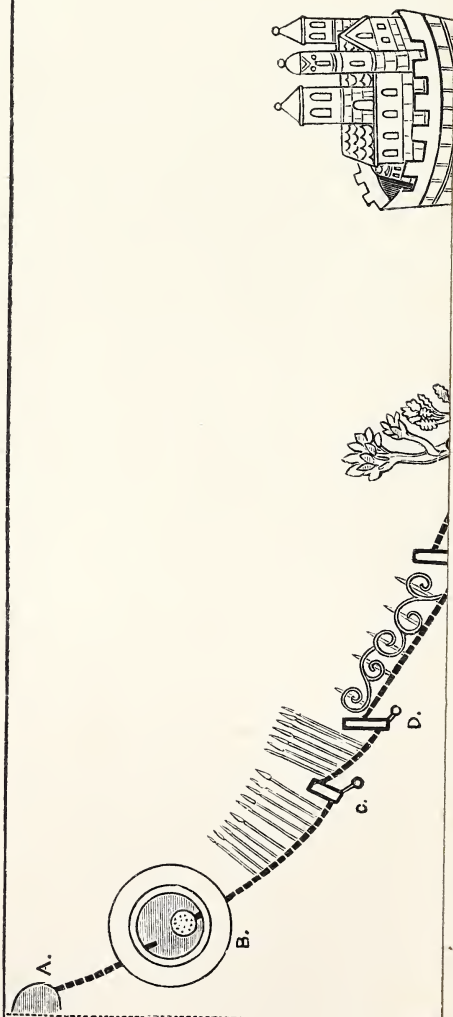


Fig. 33.—REDUCED FACSIMILE OF THE SMALL NORMAN DRAWING OF THE WATERWORKS. (Scale, one-half of the original.)

But it will be observed in the drawings, that at every such place where the water is to be drawn off for use, there is an appendage which at first sight resembles a pin with a round head stuck into that part. For example, the end of each vertical pipe terminates in a circle larger than the diameter of the pipe, which appears to be intended to represent the end of the pipe turned horizontally; the pin projects radially outwards from the centre of this circle. It must indicate some contrivance for opening and closing the pipe at pleasure, like a plug, spigot, or cock. But as the stop-cock was a well-known device even to the Romans, being mentioned and described by Vitruvius, who wrote at the beginning of the Christian era, by the name of *epistomium*,¹ we may infer that this pin-like contrivance is a rude symbol of a metallic cock, like those now in use. In the Lavatories these symbols may represent small metal spouts radiating from the ornamental tank or basins, and delivering small continuous streams.

In the system we are considering, the water having entered the precinct of the Convent, as above described, is conveyed in succession through a series of tanks fixed at a distance from each other, and each at a lower level than the preceding, in different parts of the monastery. The whole of the water is poured into the first tank by the main-pipe from the springs, from which tank it issues through a waste-pipe, leaving in it a sufficient supply.

This first waste-pipe descending to the ground is carried below the surface to the second tank, into which it rises, acting as the feed-pipe to that tank, and having its upper end at the same level as its other branch. Similarly, a second waste-pipe, parallel to the feed-pipe, but shorter, descends to the ground, and rises in the next tank of the series to act as its feed-pipe, and

¹ Vitruvius, l. ix. c. 10, and l. x. c. 13.

so on. The last tank of the series pours its waste water into the sewers of the Convent.

Thus each tank in the series is connected to the next by a horizontal pipe buried underground, with an upright branch at each end, one of which is its own waste-pipe, and the other end the feed-pipe of the next tank.

In the drawing, each upright branch terminates with a circular head, larger than the pipe, which may indicate a funnel-shaped termination, or a bend downwards or horizontal, to facilitate the exit and entrance of the water.¹ It follows also that each tank of the series has a pair of these upright branches, rising close together, of which one is its own feed-pipe, and the other its own waste-pipe.

In the small drawing (Fig. 33) these pipes are clearly shewn. The first pair is at H, the supply-pipe being the highest; the waste-pipe descends, and its horizontal branch is bent vertically at I, rising to about the same height as the branch at the other end; the succeeding vertical branches of the series grow shorter and shorter in succession, so as to shew that the draughtsman understood the principle, although he was not drawing to scale. The same general diminution in height of these vertical branches is observed in the large drawing.

We may now trace the course of the water in detail through the whole establishment.

The water from the conduit-house, after passing through the five settling-tanks, enters the precincts southward by a main-pipe, which is carried underground, through the Prior's gateway (43) and under the Infirmary kitchen (9), to the great primary Laver (H) in the Infirmary cloister, at which the monks performed ablu-

¹In two places of the small drawing, at S and T, a feed-pipe is seen sideways, which has its delivering-end bent at right angles into a horizontal direction. In the large drawing the first of these pipes is shewn with the circular head, and the second bent downwards.

tions in their passage from the Dormitory to the choir. From this Laver a second pipe (H I) conveys it westward to the Laver (I) in front of the Refectory. The small tank which there receives it is elevated on a central pillar, evidently to give the water which passes from it to the other receptacles a sufficient head. This central pillar is not shewn in the small drawing, Fig. 33.

From this tank, a pipe (I K) delivers it to the third Laver (K), in front of the Infirmary. But this pipe, in its passage eastward underground, throws off a branch (*m* P) northward, immediately after leaving the Laver (I), and another branch (*n* L) southward (under the church) before it passes the first Laver (H). The course of these branches will be described after completing the description of the main-pipes, which we have followed to the Laver (K). From K, a pipe (K M) proceeds eastward under the south aisle of the Infirmary Hall, and across the interior cemetery to the great fish-pond (*piscina*) at M. The waste water of the Piscina is carried by a pipe (M N) to the Prior's tank (*fons*) (N), from whence a pipe (N O) supplies the Prior's water-tub (*cupa*) (O). Lastly, the waste water of the latter is carried under the *Necessarium Infirmorum* (8), as the inscription on the drawing informs us.

A little beyond its issue from that building it joins at *w* the great drain described below, which collects the rain water from the conventual buildings, and after passing under the great Necessarium, proceeds underground across the Green Court, and finally empties its contents into the town ditch at *z*.

Returning to the two lateral branches, we find the second, which left the direct course of the main-pipes at *n*, passing southward under the church, and reappearing in the outer cemetery or churchyard at L, where it supplies the cistern (L), or *fons in cimeterio Laicorum*,

which appears to have been placed there for the convenience of the town.

From this cistern the water was not drawn by stop-cocks, for nothing of the kind is shewn in the Sketch. But a stone pedestal is fixed on the west side of the margin to enable the water to be taken out by dipping the pail into it; thus avoiding the chance of careless or mischievous people leaving the cock running. By the side of this cistern is the ancient well which it was intended to supersede. This is provided with the simple old device of a lever handle, supported in the middle in the fork of a high pole, and having a bucket at one end hanging by a chain, and a balancing stone tied to the other. The cistern we are considering empties its waste water by a pipe (LM') into the great Piscina, the drainage of which has been already explained.

Returning to the branch which quits the main-pipes at *m*, close to the Lavatory of the Refectory, we find its course led through all the domestic offices of the monastery, supplying them with water by means of stand-pipes closed by stop-cocks, which are not given to the primary pipes already surveyed.

The branch leaving *m* is carried across the north alley of the cloister (*a*), through the vestibule of the Refectory (*b*), thence along the scullery (*c*) or passage to the kitchen (*d*), through the latter and across the larder (*e*) and Green Court to the bakehouse (*f*) and brewhouse (*g, h*), whence, turning westward in its course, it proceeds across the great sewer (*k*) to the Lavatory (P), under the Norman porch of the north hall. The drainage of the latter necessarily conveys the remaining waste of the branch we have traced into the great sewer and town ditch.

The letters *a* to *k* in the above description in brackets indicate the points where the stand-pipes are placed to supply the offices along the course of the branch-pipe we are describing.

But in its passage from the kitchen to the brewhouse building, the pipe in question throws off a branch at *n*, which proceeds directly to the Bath House (*Balnearium*), and under it to the Prior's water tub (*cupa*) (*O*) into which it pours its waste by terminating in a vertical stand-pipe, the open end of which is bent horizontally and a little downward over the tub. A stand-pipe (*l*) with a stopcock is fixed on this branch-pipe in the interior of the Bath House.

In following the course of the water from one tank to another, it will be observed that at the angle of every pipe where it is turned vertically to feed a tank, a short, horizontal branch springs from the angle, and terminates with a stopcock close to the nearest drain-gutter. These branches are labelled *Purgatorium*, and are plainly intended to let off the water from the pipe, in order to clean it from sediment by flushing, or purging it as the name implies. These *purge-pipes* are also fixed at the supply-end of each of the settling-tanks.

In the 'Rites of Durham' (p. 70) we are informed that—

"Within the Cloyster garth, over against the Frater House dour, was a fair *Laver* or *Connditt* for the Monnecks to washe ther hands and faces at, being maid in forme round, covered with lead, and all of marble, saving the verie uttermost walls; within the which walls you may walke round about the *Laver* of marble, having many litle cunditts or spouts of brasse, with xxiiij cockes of brass, rownd about yt."¹

The conduit thus described stood in the centre of the cloister-garth, and the bills of payment for its construction in the Cathedral records shew that it was built in 1432.²

¹ It had in it seven windows, and in the top of it a dovecot, covered with lead, and was still standing at the end of the sixteenth century.

² *Vide* Hist. Duclm. Scriptores Tres, published by Surtees Society, 1839, p. cccclxliii. (Raines's 'Durham,' 12mo, p. 89.)

This description, as far as it goes, corresponds exactly to the Lavers of the Norman drawing.

The fountains of the middle ages in towns and monasteries, described and figured by Lenoir and Leduc, resemble those of our Norman drawing, but are destitute of any apparent provision for stopping the supply. They run continually, like the modern drinking-fountains and public conduits. In the sketch of a cloister fountain at Montreale by Lenoir, a basin of the same form as those employed at Canterbury, namely, circular, with a margin indented into the roseate plan, is supplied with a constant stream, which spouts from several holes in the capital of a high central pillar. The water thus supplied to the basin runs over in small streams between the roses, where the margin is indented for the purpose, and flows down into a plain opening in the pavement below, in the middle of which the central pillar has its foundation. A monastic *Lavabo* at Fontenay, given by Leduc, is on the same principle of constant supply, filling a circular tank on the level of a man's waist, which also delivers small streams at equidistant points of its circumference which fall into a tank on the pavement.

The Laver, or *Lavatorium*, of a monastery is for the purpose of furnishing the monks with the means of washing their hands or performing other ablutions before meals, and is defined by Leduc to be "a cistern of stone or marble pouring forth streams of water from a number of small orifices pierced in its side, which fall into a lower basin on the floor." The monks standing around it, in their passage to the Refectory, can thus wash each at his own stream, without mutual pollution of the water, which is carried away by a drain-pipe from the lower basin.

In the later examples, the cloister lavatory was made in the form of a long trough, like a horse-trough, with water supplied at one end and running out at the

other. Probably, a long horizontal pipe was fixed at the back of the trough, furnished with a series of openings, through which jets of water issued for ablutions or other uses. Such lavatories were either placed in enclosures projecting from the front of the cloister-arcades into the cloister-garth, as at Canterbury and Gloucester, or within arches sunk in the back-wall of the alley near the Refectory door, as at Norwich, Peterborough, Westminster, and Worcester.

The Norman drawing of the Laver in front of the Refectory resembles those represented by Lenoir and Leduc much more closely than the others, possibly because it was the only one intended expressly for washing before meals. It has a circular octafoil basin near the ground; in the centre of this is a high ornamental pillar which carries a smaller basin. The margin of the latter is indented, with four semicircles alternating with angular projections. The supply-pipe and waste-pipe pass up through the pillar into the small basin. In this fountain the angular projections must have been spouts supplying continual streams into the lower basin, like those that proceed from the capital of the pillar at Montreale, and from the curved metallic spouts that rise through the water of the upper basin at Fontenay, turning their mouths downwards.

But the lower octafoil basin of our Norman Lavatory is provided with the pin-like appendage in each foil which I have supposed to represent a metal cock, to be opened when the stream of water was required by a monk for his ablutions or for other uses. As the upper basin is delivering an uninterrupted flow, the lower basin must have been provided with a waste-pipe, omitted in the drawing, to carry off the superfluous water which fell continually from the upper basin; or rather with a circular tank on the pavement, to receive this water, and also that which dropped from the cocks

when opened for ablutions or otherwise, this tank being provided with a drain to convey the waste to the Cloister-gutter, not shewn in the drawing. But the drawing contains a gutter or sewer in the neighbourhood of each tank, which would serve the purpose, although the connection between them is omitted.

All the Lavers must have served to supply portable water vessels, as pails and pitchers, which were filled from the cocks.

Between the well of the Infirmary cloister and the Laver of the Infirmary, a column with a large capital is planted above the course of the water-pipe which is proceeding to supply that Laver. The column is labelled with the inscription :—"When the water-supply (from the aqueduct) is deficient, water may be raised from the well, and being poured into this column will supply all the offices." (*"Columna in quam ductu aque deficiente potest hauriri aqua de Puteo et administrabitur omnibus officinis."*) The capital of the pillar is evidently a funnel, and the pillar itself a great stand-pipe, planted upon the pipe I K, from which proceeds the branch *m* P, which is carried through all the offices and supplies them by stand-pipes. Water poured into this pillar to a sufficient height to give it a proper head would issue from any one of these stand-pipes whose cock may be turned, and also run into the Prior's water tub.

As the well itself stands between the two great Lavers, the water required for that locality would be derived immediately from it. And for the Refectory Laver, the stand-pipe (*a*) in the Cloister-close to it might serve as a substitute.

Gutters and Sewers.

The great Norman drawing represents the provisions made for collecting and carrying off the rain-water from

the roofs of the great Cloister and the north side of the church. The Cloister-garth had an open gutter round its outer border, which caught the drippings of its eaves, and also a channel extended from the middle of the west side to the middle of the opposite side. These channels tended downwards to a small (underground) cistern opposite the door of the passage or *Locutory* that led from the great Cloister to the Infirmary cloister. The legend attached to this cistern is, "Small well (*Puteolus*) before the door of the Locutory, into which the rain-water is conveyed from all sides by the canal or gutter which is carried all round the Cloister. From this well the gutter is carried along the passage which leads towards the Infirmary Hall, and when the gutter comes opposite to the crypt door it is turned out of the road to the right."

The Drawing shews this deviation very clearly; the gutter is turned so as to pass on the south of the Infirmary cloister, at the part where the Prior's Chapel was afterwards built. It then proceeds under the sub-vaults of the Vestiarium, and turns northward under the Infirmary Hall, joining the channel described above, p. 163, which proceeds from the Prior's water-tub, and passes across the Green Court to the town ditch. Its junction with the Prior's channel is concealed by the buildings in the Norman drawing.

But there remain two pieces of documentary evidence for the elucidation of the course of the rain-water channels and sewers.

The first, in the list of Chillenden's works (Appendix, No. VI.), relates to the repair of the whole ancient line of gutters from the great Cloister to the third Dormitory or Necessarium, between 1390 and 1411. The second, in the description of Prior Goldston's works (in the Obituary, note x.), describes a new rain channel which he made round the south and east sides of the church,

and joined it to the old channel which had been repaired by Chillenden, at the point where it passes under the Subprior's *camera*. I subjoin translations of these documents in two parallel columns.

PRIOR CHILLENDEEN.
(1390-1411.)

Repaired and amended the gutter which is conducted along the way which leads from the Cloister to the Infirmary. First by that way straight to the end of the Chapter-house outside.

Then straight on the outside of the Prior's Chapel on the south side as far as the *Subprior's camera*.

Then across the Subprior's camera and across the great Hall of the Infirmary.

Then along the Prior's private camera.

And so by the camera under the gloriet.

PRIOR GOLDSTON.
(1495-1517.)

Constructed a subterranean aqueduct outside the church, on the south side, and close to it, with bricks and cement, vaulted and firmly constructed, to carry off the inundations of rain-water which, for want of proper channels, were wont to inundate the whole crypt of the Virgin and the adjacent chapels, and greatly hinder the access of the pilgrims to the glorious Virgin.

This aqueduct is extended in length from the road which leads from the south door of the church towards the city.

It passes through the church cemetery close to its foundations,

and up to the *Subprior's camera*,

and is finally conducted from the Subprior's camera

along the mansion of the Lord Prior.

Then to the head of the third Dormitory, and so it turns into the aqueduct in the third Dormitory.

This gutter, old, wasted, and ruined, was now repaired at great expenses, and leaded under ground for the most part.

to the head of the third Dormitory.¹

Lastly, in Wilkes's plan of the waterworks the course of this ancient rain-gutter and sewer, at that time (A.D. 1668) still in use, as it is at present, is plainly delineated in exact accordance with the documentary descriptions just quoted. It is by the help of this plan that I have inserted the gutters in my Plans (Plates 2 and 3).

The greatest apparent deviation in the Norman plan from the real line of the sewers is produced by the mode in which the course of the great sewer across the Green Court is drawn. It is evident from the whole scheme of the water supply, and from the documents and Wilkes's plan, that this sewer was conducted through the fosse of the great Necessarium to cleanse it. Wilkes's plan places it in that position, and I have laid it down accordingly. But to understand its posi-

¹ Extra quoque Ecclesiam aqueductum subterraneam satis onerosum ex parte australi prope Ecclesiam ex lateribus et cæmento opere testudinario firmissime constructam ad pluviarum inundationes commodè recipiendas satis prudenter ac provide construxit; quæ quidem pluviarum exuberantia totam Virginis Criptam cum cæteris Capellis adjacentibus ex defectu aquæductus nonnunquam operuerat; sicque aditum satis difficilem ad Virginem gloriosam causa devotionis visitandam omnibus illuc confluentibus omnino exhibuit. Qui quidem aquæductus distenditur in longum à via quæ ducit ab hostio Ecclesiæ meridionali versus civitatem per cœmeterium Ecclesiæ prope fundamenta ejusdem usque ad cameram Subprioris et a camera Subprioris per mansionem Domini Prioris usque ad caput tertii Domitorii finaliter protenditur atque traducitur. (Obit. Ang. Sac. p. 147.)

tion in the Norman drawing, it must be remembered that this plan shews every building and its dependencies in elevation,¹ consequently the sewer which runs through the fosse of the Necessarium at some depth below the level of the ground, and declines from east to west, appears, if supposed to be in plan instead of in elevation, as if it were placed in front of the ground-line of the building, and nearer to it at the east than at the west end.

After the dissolution of the Priory the system of supplying the precinct by a series of tanks became useless, because the Lavars and stand-pipes were all fixed in buildings that were doomed to destruction, and therefore unsuited for the convenience of the new inhabitants, who were lodged in separate dwelling-houses. A new conduit-house, "square and like a country pigeon-house," as Gostling tells us, was built in the Green Court, in front of the fourth prebendal house (at 77, Plate 3). The whole of the water from the springs was delivered into a great tank or cistern, on the upper floor of the conduit-house. From this cistern pipes were laid to the houses in the ordinary manner.

This reconstruction of the waterworks must have been carried out at the same time that the prebendal houses were built; but the first record of the new distribution is in the elaborate plan of these works and the whole precinct, made by Wilkes, for the express purpose of enabling them to be kept in proper repair. The title of the plan is, "A Description of y^e vaults, pipes, Sestones,² and gutters belonging to the Church, as is hear in shewed. Drane out and ffinnished by

¹ Thus in the first Laverhouse, the pipes, which really were laid horizontally below ground directly up to the centre of the pillar, through which they ascend, appear, at first sight, as if their course, running eastward considerably north of the pillar, was turned abruptly southward to meet its centre, where they are bent upwards.

² Namely, Cisterns.

James Wilkes, waterman to y^e Deane and Chapter of Christ's Church, Canterbury, October the 27th, anno 1668." This has never been published; but another plan of the precinct buildings, including the water system, drawn by T. Hill, in 1680, was engraved for Battely (1703, p. 87). It is greatly inferior to the former one, which, however, has suffered considerable mutilation by the accidental burning of part of its margins.

The conduit-house in the court, having proved to be an incumbrance and disfigurement, was transferred, at the beginning of the last century, to the place it now occupies, which is a chamber in the ancient Brewhouse, parted off from it in the position shewn in my Plan (83, Plate 3).

This new system included a cistern in the churchyard for the use of the church tenants, which appears to have been the successor of that represented in the Norman drawing. It is shewn in Wilkes's and Hill's plans, and in mine (at 99, Plate 3) from their authority. Gostling describes it as follows:—

"In the churchyard is a causey leading from Christchurch gate to the south porch at the Oxford steeple, almost opposite to which is a small stone house with a cistern in it, which had a common cock for the use of the church tenants in this neighbourhood, and was supplied with water from the great reservoir in the Green Court. Of this convenience they have been deprived for several years, though the pipe which served it still remains, and a small expense would restore it; but if this cistern was enlarged so as to receive all the water that runs waste every night from that in the Green Court, it would not only be a greater benefit to the neighbours than ever, but might be very serviceable in case of accidental fires here."¹

¹ Gostling, 134.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

*On the Two Norman Drawings inserted in the Great Psalter,
preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge.*

These remarkable representations of ancient engineering are bound in a large folio volume, containing the Psalter in Latin, Norman French, and Saxon, with several other sacred poems, chiefly from the Scriptures, and profusely illuminated with drawings and vignettes representing the scenes and actions alluded to in the text. This text is apparently complete and continuous from the beginning to the verso of page 273, on which is the Magnificat, as far as the words "*ex hoc beatam me dicent omnes generati-*," which finish the page in the middle of the word *generationes*. From this leaf confusion begins; some leaves have been abstracted, and in the space vacated by them the great drawing of the Monastery (Plate 1, Nos. 1 and 2), doubled in the middle, is secured, partly by paste against the inner part of the leaf last mentioned, but principally by stitching, through its middle crease, into the binding bands of the book. Next to this, the leaf containing Eadwin's well-known portrait (engraved in the '*Vetusta Monumenta*') is inserted. It occupies the verso, and is followed by two more leaves of writing, corresponding to that of the rest of the manuscript, and concluding the original volume. But these leaves begin in the midst of the Nicene Creed with the words "*passus est pro salute,*" etc., indicating the loss of intermediate pages, that once occupied the place in which the Norman drawing is inserted.

Lastly, a second plan of the water-works, published for the first time in the present memoir on a scale of one-half of the original (Fig. 33), is pasted on a vellum guard, the return of the final vellum page which is pasted on the wooden cover.

The portrait may be an original part of the manuscript, but the plans are certainly intruded into the book, for a very considerable width of these drawings has been trimmed off their margins to fit them to the dimensions of the volume, and they

have no relation to its contents. The style of drawing is not the same as that employed in the illuminations; but its resemblance to them is only such as would happen between the works of two different artists living at the same period.

The two drawings are in my opinion the work of the engineer Wibert, or his assistants, executed to record his system of water distribution and drainage, and not, as is usually supposed, for the purpose of delineating the architectural arrangement of the Priory. The second drawing is mentioned in a note to Gostling's 'Walk' (p. 400, 2nd edit.), in which the writer supposes it to have been the first rude sketch for the larger drawing. This, however, is not the case. In the great drawing, all the monastic buildings are delineated, so as to indicate completely the course of the various pipes from one to the other, and the exact places of their cisterns and stand-pipes, as well as the contrivances for carrying off rain-water and sewage, explained by appropriate inscriptions, which shew the drawing to have been made by a mechanist anxious to record and explain every particular of his contrivances. The smaller drawing exhibits the hydraulic system disentangled from the buildings that have no connection with it, and thus shews the ramifications of the pipes more clearly, for only the buildings that receive water are drawn, and as isolated objects, often roughly and slightly outlined; and there are no inscriptions appended. But when compared with the great drawing, the coincidence of the two enables each building or other object of the small drawing to be readily named. In my tracing of this drawing (Fig. 33) I have added letters of reference. In the two drawings the course of the water from the source through the series of settling tanks to the city wall is represented in exactly the same manner as if one had been traced from the other, with slight variations to accommodate the page.

A large piece from the east side of the small drawing has been cut off by the binder, but the lost details can easily be supplied from the great drawing. They related to the connection of the pipes with the great piscina.

It will be observed that the buildings are viewed from the south in the small drawing, and from the north in the large drawing.

But on the north of the fifth settling tank, which the great

drawing shews to have stood against the north side of the city wall, the small drawing represents a complete church, with a single body, an apse at the *west* end, two *eastern* towers and a central tower, surrounded by a battlemented wall of disproportionate height, which encloses it so tightly that the first impression of the design is that of a model stuck into a pail. This object is evidently intended to represent the Priory of St. Gregory, through the grounds of which the mainpipe of the water-works was conducted, which pipe, by covenant, that Convent agreed to preserve, and to give access to workmen when it required repair (*vide* Appendix No. II.).

The large drawing is so valuable, apart from the hydraulic system, for the representation it offers of the monastic buildings and their uses, that it is necessary to examine in detail the principles of delineation upon which it was laid down.

The drawing belongs to the class which are termed *bird's-eye views*, and is the earliest specimen in existence, if we except the delineations of buildings in the bas-reliefs, paintings, and coins of the ancients. But in none of these do we find so complex a group of buildings delineated. The well-known plan of ancient Rome and the plan of St. Gall, in the ninth century, are purely geometrical, and are mere plans.

As no fixed station can be attained from which such a view could really be seen by an artist, it is manifest that every such drawing must be laid down by rules; and, since the discovery of the geometrical principles of perspective and projection, the process is certain and easy. A measured plan of the whole ground being taken, it is thrown into perspective, and the various buildings duly placed upon it, according to the rules of that art, from separate sketches of each made on the ground.

A similar method must have been employed in the drawing we are considering. A plan must have been first laid down, and upon this the representations of the separate buildings delineated. In a genuine bird's-eye view, however, all the buildings and objects are shewn as they would actually appear to the eye of a person stationed at the one point of view assumed. But in the Norman drawing each separate building is represented by an elevation, standing upon the line which in the plan is the seat of the wall forming the subject of the elevation. There are, consequently, as many points of view as there are buildings to be shewn. In a cloister, for example,

each side is drawn as it appears to a person stationed in the centre of the area and looking straight at the middle of that side.

Under such a system, it is impossible to delineate correctly the juxtaposition of buildings that make angles with each other. If the roof of the building is hipped at the ends, no attempt is made to represent the sides. Examples of this mode in the great drawing are the *Camera Prioris vetus*, *Nova Camera Prioris*, *Necessarium Infirmorum*, *Cellarium*, *Granarium*, and *North Gate*. When a part of the building projects from the general face of the wall, as the porch of the *Camera Prioris vetus*, it rests on the same base-line as in our strict mode of delineating elevations. The Cathedral itself falls under the same rule. Its transepts, gables, and eastern turrets, and side-aisle walls, although in different planes, all stand on the same line.

If the building have gables at the ends, the elevation of one of them is drawn upon the same base-line as the side, as if the building were viewed by a person at a distance, looking at the angle. In a regular system of projection, the breadth of the gable and length of the side would be foreshortened by this, and this would be allowed for by the draughtsman. Apparently our artist contented himself by placing the gable and side upon the base-line that belonged to the side only, and perhaps compensated for the loss of length in the side by omitting some of the windows. A striking example of the difficulties thus occasioned is given by the representation of the west gable of the "*Domus Infirmorum*," which in reality forms the east side of the Infirmary cloister; but by the method of delineation, being placed on the same base-line as the north side of the building, is thrown completely out of relation to the cloister.

It may also be remarked that the elevation of the Cathedral itself, compared with its well-known form, is quite sufficient to shew that in that, and consequently in every other elevation, it was considered unnecessary to express accurately either the number of windows or their exact form, or even the proportional dimensions of the whole. All that was aimed at was such a general resemblance as would shew, for example, that the Cathedral was meant, and enable the juxtaposition of other buildings in respect to it to be expressed.

Thus, if we turn to the existing Cathedral, and consider the

elevation, for example, of its north side, we find it complicated by the two transepts and the Tower or Chapel of St. Andrew. To each of these projecting members apses are attached eastward; and on the west side of the eastern transept and of the Tower of St. Andrew an external stair turret is placed. From the term Tower given by Gervase to the Chapel of St. Andrew, and the massive style of its walls, there is good reason to suppose that it was intended to have been carried up as a lofty tower, forming, together with its opposite of St. Anselm, a pair of eastern towers of equal, if not greater altitude than the western pair.

Our draughtsman has simply omitted the apsidal chapels and the stair turrets. But he has also represented the towers of St. Andrew and St. Anselm as complete. It does not follow that they were ever carried up much higher than at present, but his drawing shews what was intended. He has correctly drawn the elevation in its angular position, and has made a lame attempt at the top to shew the pyramidal roof of the opposite tower. Their apses and stair turrets, having no relation to the waterworks, were dismissed. But the Tower of St. Andrew was too prominent a member of the Cathedral to be neglected, and was required to shew the relative positions of the Cloister, Lavatory, and Vestiarium to the Cathedral.

Amongst the confusion of lines in the representation of the eastern termination of the roof of the Cathedral, we may detect a cupola of carpentry terminating the ridge of the central roof. The windows of the Cathedral in the clerestory and lower walls are simply inserted at random, without the least regard to their real numbers or proportions, and no indications of the buttresses which divide the exterior into severies are attempted.

In the representation of the North Hall, or "*Aula Nova*," its resemblance to the real building consists in the fact that both exhibit the characteristic feature of a porch projecting from the east side, but nearer to the south end than the north, and in both the porch has a high open arch in front, and a flight of steps partly within and partly without,—a resemblance somewhat like that of the river in Macedon to the river in Monmouth, "there is salmons in both."¹ True, they are both in two stories, and the lower stories have open arches; but the drawing gives only three severies in front, where the real building

¹ 'Henry the Fifth,' act iv., sc. 7.

had nine, and thus the proportion of height to length is greatly exaggerated.

Similarly the proportions of the *Domus Hospitum*, of which sufficient Norman fragments exist to shew its ancient plan, are contracted in length.

These characteristic variations from true proportion, and diminution of or inattention to the real number, in a series of similar details, such as arches of an arcade or windows in a row, are common in the representation of buildings on seals or monuments of the middle ages and earlier.

It will also be observed that the buildings are not drawn to a uniform scale, or disposed upon an accurate plan of the ground. Their base lines are all represented as parallel or perpendicular to the Cathedral, which the Plan (Plate 2) shews to be contrary to the truth;¹ and the scale of the parts of the plan eastward and southward of the Church is contracted.

For example, the diameter of the outer walls of the cloister, measured along the central line of the Cathedral, is really only about two-elevenths of the width of the Norman site, as the Plan (Plate 2) shews; but in the Norman drawing is two-ninths of that width. The distance from the gable of the Trinity Chapel to the east wall of the Cemetery is in reality little less than one-half, but in the Norman drawing only one-third, of the length of the Church. In the north and south direction the north end of the *Domus Hospitum* is really distant from the city wall by a length slightly less than its distance from the south boundary of the Norman Cemetery; but in the Norman drawing the former distance is only half the latter, thus extremely contracting the proportions of the Green Court with respect to the Church. Lastly, in the drawing, the length of the watercourse from the wall of the city to its source is con-

¹ In old plans no attention is paid to the exact angles at which the buildings stand. The various plans of this Monastery illustrate this principle very curiously. In the Norman plan, and even in Wilkes's plan, 1668, the buildings, courts, and churches are all drawn parallel, or at right angles. Hill's plan (1680) is the first that attempts to place them with regard to their true bearings. Yet, even in the last published plan of the Conventual buildings (*vide* Trans. Inst. of Brit. Archit. for 1862, vol. vi. p. 58), the north city wall and other parts are drawn parallel and perpendicular to the Cathedral. The plan of Canterbury by H. Doidge (1752), copied on a smaller scale in Gostling's 'Walk,' is very accurate in this respect.

tracted to about half the distance of the south wall of the Cemetery from the north wall of the precinct, whereas in reality it is nearly four times that distance.

This disregard of proportional magnitude, which is exhibited throughout the drawing, is especially displayed in the delineation of the principal folding gates in the portals of the Monastery. The gate between the *Domus Hospitum*, or Celerer's Hall, and the kitchen, is as broad as the whole kitchen which stands by the side of it, and nearly as high. Yet the Norman archway, which really stood there when the drawing was made, and still remains, has only a span of twelve feet six inches, as shewn in the Plan at p. 127. The same may be remarked of the eastern and southern portals of the Cemetery, of the Prior's Gates, and of the Gates of the Court (the *Porta Curie*); but the respective numbers of arches in the cloisters appear to be drawn with rather more regard to exactness.

I am not citing these peculiarities of the drawings for the purpose of undervaluing them. On the contrary, having shewn that accuracy of detail or proportional magnitude formed no part of the intention of the draughtsman, it is only necessary to compare my Plan (Plate 2)—which gives the sites of the component buildings of the Monastery in their true proportions, relative distances, and bearings—with the Norman drawing, to be convinced that the juxtapositions of the buildings are in general duly shewn, which is all that was required to explain the course and ramifications of the waterpipes and sewers from one monastic office to another. Also that the liberties taken with the relative magnitudes are due to the necessity of delineating the mechanism of the system on a sufficient scale for distinctness. Thus the so-called Baptistery is made of equal width to the gable of the transept behind it, whereas it has in reality but half that width; and the Lavatory Tower in the Great Cloister is equally magnified. In fact, the representation is the work of an engineer, and not of an architect, and therefore principally useful for its ample details of the method of water supply to monasteries or towns in the twelfth century. But it also gives most valuable incidental evidence of the general distribution of the Convent by the inscriptions attached to the buildings.

In describing this drawing, some writers display their wit by ridiculing the method of delineation. Gostling tells us of

Eadwyn that, "however proud he might be of his penmanship, the drawing does very little honour to his skill as a draughtsman, for it is neither a plan, an upright, nor a prospect; and yet it shews plainly that this (meaning Canterbury) is the Church and Precinct he would have drawn, had he known how to execute a design."¹ Dr. Milles says, "It is indeed easy to perceive that Eadwin was no master of perspective;"² an observation which applies equally to the early painters up to the time of Raffaello, for the excellent reason that the first attempt to develop the true principles of perspective drawing and projection was made only about the end of the fifteenth century, and that the subject has employed the talents of the greatest mathematicians from that time to our own.

No. II.

Grants concerning the Water Source and Works.

From original in Box, and Copy Reg. G. 9 (p. 82, pencil), Chapter Archives.

T. dei gratia Cantuarie Archiepiscopus Anglorum primas Venerabili fratri et amico W. Roffensi Episcopo et Toti hallimoto de Sancto Martino salutem. Sciatis nos dedisse et concessisse in perpetuum pro salute nostra et pro animabus omnium predecessorum nostrorum Dilectis filiis nostris priori et conventui ecclesie nostre in elemosinam et perpetuam possessionem paulo plus quam unam Acram paludis usque ad arabilem terram in valle apud horfalde ubi fontes crumpunt et defluunt usque ad stagna eorum ut melius et liberius possint fontes suos curare et stagna sua emendare et utilius custodire. Idcirco volumus et precipimus quod perpetuo permaneat ecclesie Cantuariensi palus illa. Testibus Philippo cancellario et Johanne de Sañ et Willelmo de Ver et Johanne de Tileburia et Hugone de Gant et Petro scriptore et Gisleberto camerario et Roberto pincerna et Willelmo dispensatore et multis aliis.

Apud lamhedam.

(Dated A.D. 1138, in modern hand.)

(With seal and counterseal.)

[The Archbishop T. must be either Theobald (1139-1162) or Thomas à Becket (1162-1174), and the Bishop W., Walter (1148-1182); hence the

¹ Gostling, p. 148.

charter is placed between 1148 and 1174. But as Wibert constructed the aqueduct between 1153 and 1167, or if, when Subprior, a few years earlier, it is probable that the charter was given by Archbishop Theobald.]

Copy Reg. 5, 71, from original Chapter Archives.

Omnibus Christi fidelibus presentes literas inspecturis Thomas prior & Conventus Sancti gregorii Cantuarie salutem in domino. Noveritis nos concessisse et bona fide promississe Quod aqueductum dilectorum nobis in Christo Prioris et Conventus Ecclesie Christi Cantuariensis per pomarium nostrum transeuntem Salvum et illesum quatenus in nobis est conservabimus et permittemus operarios suos quociens necesse fuerit ad eundem aqueductum emendendum per Curiam et portam nostram liberum habere ingressum et egressum. &c. &c.

27 July. 1227.

(Fine seal of the Convent.)

No. III.

Concerning the Conduits at Christchurch. By Mr. Somner.

In an ancient French manuscript, written by a monke of y^e place in Edward 2d time, now or late remaining in Sir Simon de Ewes¹ his Library, fol. 134 *b*, I read thus :—

Anno 1167. Cest an morust de bone memorie Wibert le Priur de la mere eglise de Caunterbirie, la v. kalend de Octobre. Cil les conduits de euwe en tuz les offices dediens la Court de la Priurie ordina et fist fere. et si prent surce cel euw sa une liwe hors de la cite, ki tut suz terre par pypes de plum a sa eglise fist venir.

In English thus :—

In the yeare 1167. This yeare died Wibert of good memory, the Prior of the mother church of Canterbury, the vth of the kalends of October. The same man appointed & caused to be made the conduits of water in all the offices within the Court of the Priory, and that water taketh its source about a mile out of the city, w^{ch} wholly

¹ Now in the Cottonian collection, Brit. Mus. Claud. c. 6 fol. 166. Somner, p. 141, makes a short record of Wibert's services, referring to this memorandum in Sir Simon D'Ewes's Library.

under the ground by pipes of lead he caused to come unto his church.

Another old manuscript in Latine, sometime belonging to the same cathedrall, now in y^e Earle of Arundell's Library, bearing this title, "Registrum sive Martyrologium ecclesiæ xpi Cantuariæ," fol. 41 a, to the same purpose speake thus:—

v. kal. octob. obiit bonæ memoriæ Wibertus Prior. Hic inter multa bona opera quæ fecit isti ecclesiæ aqueductum cum stagnis et lavatoriis et piscinis suis fieri fecit, quam aquam fere milliaro ab urbe intra curiam, et sic per omnes ipsius curiæ officinas, mirabiliter transduxit.

In English thus:—

On the vth of the kalends of October, Wibert of good memory, the Prior, died. This man, among many other good works w^{ch} he did for this church, caused to be made the watercourse with its ponds, conduits, and fish pools; w^{ch} water he marvellously brought almost a mile from the city into the court, & so through all the offices of the same court.

Extracted from the MSS. aforesaid by me,
Wilm Somner.

No. IV.

Extract from Winchelsey's Statutes, c. vii. ('Wilkins's Concilia,' vol. ii. p. 246).

De extra refectorium comedentibus.

. . . . Item monachi de cætero omnes in conspectu communi secularium tam in clauso interiori, quam exteriori, domus vestre a carniū esu, exceptis locis inferius annotatis, abstineant; scilicet quod solum in mensa magistri in infirmitorio, et cameris infirmorum, in deporto, et camera prioris, aut in aula hospitum, cum ad hoc rite licentiati extiterint, vescantur carnibus ad sui recreationem idoneam vel ad solatium aliorum. Et hæc duo caute consideret præsidens in licencia taliter concedenda. Item quia deporti solatium, et mensa magistri, ad uberiores fratrum recreationem et non ad sui victus diminutionem conceditur, statuimus ordinando, ut cum ova eisdem in deporto vel mensa magistri

ministrantur, eundem ovorum numerum habeant, quem de consuetudine essent in refectorio habituri. Item qui in deporto certis temporibus reficiuntur ad omnes processiones, tertiam solennem magnam missam, et vesperas, singulis diebus accedant, ne tunc temporis, prout solent, fabulis vacent otiosis, vel lasciviis se implicant inhonestis. Item in deporto, vel ex causa ut supra in infirmitorio, comedentes, statim post prandium semel, si velint, bibentes, recedant ad chorum vel claustrum, lecturæ vel scripturæ aut repetitioni servitii vel regulæ se convertant: alioquin graviter puniantur. Item, quia pro deporto murmur inter fratres frequenter resonat pro eo, quod aliquando viginti fratres in una die deportum suum recusant,—ita quod ex hoc frequenter contingit, quod tantummodo tres vel quatuor fratres, qui sunt in deporto, missæ de beata Maria intersunt, ubi octo fratres de deporto singulis diebus de consuetudine ecclesiæ approbata interesse deberent,—ad abolendam hujusmodiurbationis materiam, magister infirmariæ die dominica, prout moris est, præmuniat octo fratres tantum, tam inferioris quam superioris utriusque chori prout in ordine sunt priores, quod deportum suum recipiant, si voluerint in septimana sequente. Et si aliquis ipsorum octo deportum suum recusaverit, ipse nihilominus sic recusans singulis diebus illius septimanæ missæ de beata Maria, et feria tertia missæ de beato Thoma, teneatur interesse cum cæteris qui sunt in eodem deporto, ne propter suam recusationem minuatur solennitas ipsarum missarum. Ab ista vero generalitate excipimus subpriorem, majorem cellerarium, et duos capellanos prioris, pro variis casibus contingentibus, qui non poterunt provideri, ac etiam seniores, qui magno tempore non perceperunt deportum.

[*Subjoined is the statute against the commission of nuisances, (p. 247):—*

Item præcipimus in virtute obedientiæ, ac sub pœna suspensionis injungimus singulis monachis, ne in lavatoriis ad ingressum infirmariæ seu cameræ prioris, vel etiam alibi situatis, sive in locis aliis juxta ea, screare vel a naso spumam excutere, aut aliud quicquam abominabile ibidem emittere quoque modo præsumant, ita quod illuc accedentibus appareat, prout ex gestu plurium inhonesto sæpe didicimus esse factum.]

No. V.

*List of the Works of Prior De Estria.—Register I., xi., fol. 212.
Chapter Muniments, Canterbury.*¹

[N.B.—To facilitate reference to this List, the items are numbered in order.]

Nova opera in ecclesia et in curia, tempore Henrici Prioris²
Pro vestimentis et aliis ornamentis Ecclesiasticis in Ecclesia,
et domibus edificandis et reparandis infra ambitum Ecclesie
et Curie per 37 annos, tempore Henrici Prioris.

Ab anno Domini 1285 usque ad annum nonagesimum.

(1.) Camera magna Prioris cum pictura. (2.) Camera minor
cum Capella et novo Camino.³

(3.) Camera longa cum novo Camino. (4.) Camera ad scacca-
rium cum diversorio ibidem.

(5.) Camera nova in veteri plumbario cum Capella et Camino.⁴

(6.) Magna grangia ad fenum. (7.) Cisterna in piscina.

(8.) Cisterna juxta scolam novitiorum. (9.) Studium Prioris.

(10.) Reparacio magne aule juxta portam Curie.

230 li. : 16 s.

Anno 1291.

(11.) Nova Camera Prioris plumbata, cum Gardroba, Camino,
Celatura, pictura, et pavimento aliarum Camerarum.

36 li. : 18 s. 6d.

Anno 1292.

(12.) Novum Orlogium magnum in Ecclesia. 30 li.

(13.) Nova turris⁵ ultra Thesaurarium. 10 li.

Anno 1294.

(14.) Novum Gablum Ecclesie ultra altare Sancti Gregorii.

13 li. : 12 s.

¹ This is copied in Bib. Cott. Galba E. 14 f. 103, and printed by Dart in his Appendix iii.

² 1285–1331, Henry De Estria, Prior, “Ædes etiam novas infra monasterium et extra sumptuosas fundavit et plurimas dirutas reparavit:” Obituary. Ang. Sac. 141.

³ Camno, MS.

³ and ⁴ The word *capella*, coupled with *camino* in these two passages, appears to mean the chimney *hood*, and not a chapel.

⁵ “Camera,” interlineation in a later hand.

(15.) Nova panetria et nova coquina plumbata in Camera Prioris. 13 li. : 18 s.

Anno 1295.

(16.) Pavimentum Claustri, et nova Gaola. 42 li. : 2 d.

Anno 1298.

(17.) Decem nove schoppe lapidee in Burgate. 40 li. : 6 d.

Anno 1301.

(18.) Novum stabulum Thesaurarii cum solario et parvo granario. 7 li. : 8 s.

Anno 1303.

(19.) Novum Granarium in Bracino. 8 li. : 5 s. : 10 d.

Anno 1304 et quinto.

(20.) Reparacio tocius chori cum tribus novis ostiis, et novo pulpito, et (21) reparacio Capituli cum duobus novis gabulis.

839 li. : 7 s. : 8 d.

Anno 1314.

(22.) Pro corona Sancti Thome auro et argento et lapidibus preciosis ornanda. 115 li. : 12 s.

(23.) Item, pro nova cresta aurea feretri Sancti Thome facienda. 7 li. : 10 s.

Anno 1316.

(24.) Quinque Campane, quarum i. que vocatur Thomas in magno clocario, que ponderat $\overline{\text{viiij}}$ li.¹; tres alie in novo clocario longo versus north, quarum i. ponderat 2400 li. ; alia, 2200 li. ; et tercia, 2000 li.

Item, i. Campana ad sonitum Capituli que ponderat 700 li. et dim.

Precium quinque campanarum. 236 li. : 13 s. : 6 d., sine carpentrio et ferramento.

Anno 1317.

(25.) Novum Clocarium longum versus north. 61 li. : 5 s. : 3 d.

Item, pro plumbo et plumbario. 90 li. : 12 s. 2 d.

(26.) Item, tres campane nove in clocario sub anglo, quarum prima ponderat 1460 li., secunda ponderat 1210 li., et tercia ponderat 1124 li. Precium 65 li. : 9 d. sine carpenterio et ferramento.

(27.) Item, 3 campane nove minores in eodem clocario, que ponderant 2750 li. Precium 10 li. : 18 s.

Anno 1317 et 18.

¹ Thus written,—query 8000 lb. weight?

(28.) Pro novis studiis faciendis. 32 li. : 9 s. : 7 d.

(29.) Item, pro novo bracio cum novo granario et Camino
et aliis domibus infra Curiam, per duos annos predictos.

144 li. : 16 s.

In diversis annis.

(30.) Pro novis vestimentis et aliis ornamentis Ecclesiasticis,
cum nova tabula magni altaris. 147 li. : 14 s.

Summa totalis pro vestimentis et aliis ornamentis
Ecclesiasticis in ecclesia, et domibus edificandis et re-
parandis infra ambitum Ecclesie et curie, per 37 annos
tempore Henrici Prioris. 2184 li. : 18 s. : 8 d.

Then follows a long list entitled, "Nova Opera in Maneriis tempore Henrici Prioris," giving the details of his expenditure upon the buildings, etc., on the estates of the monastery, during 37 years, amounting to £3739. 4s. 6d. It contains many curious items; but as not relating to the fabric of the Church of Canterbury or adjacent buildings, this enumeration of good deeds is not here inserted.

No. VI.

List of the Works of Prior Chillenden (A.D. 1390-1411).

Roll C, 166, Chapter Muniments, Canterbury.

[When Leland visited Canterbury, c. 1540, the architectural reputation of this Prior had not faded from the memory of the inhabitants of his structures. In his 'Itinerary' (vi. f. 3, p. 5) he says, "Prior Thomas *Chillendene*, alias *Chislesdene*, was the greatest Builder of a Prior that ever was in *Christes chirche*. He was a great Setter forth of the new building of the Body of the Church. He builded of new, the goodly Cloistre, the Chapitre House, the new Conduit of Water, the Prior's Chaumbre, the Prior's Chapelle, the great Dormitorie and the Frater, the Bake House, the Brew House, the Escheker, the faire Ynne yn the High Strete of *Cantorbyri*. And also made the Waulles of moste of al the Circuite, beside the Towne Waulle of the Enclosure of the Abbaye."

The following Roll, which I was so fortunate as to discover

in searching the documents of the Chapter some fifteen years ago, in company with my friend Albert Way, contains apparently a complete list of this Prior's works, and has escaped the notice of all previous writers. I have numbered the paragraphs to facilitate reference.]

Nova Opera Reparaciones et adquisita tempore Thome Chyllyndene Prioris Ecclesie Xpi Cantuariensis.

(1) *Navis ecclesie Cantuariensis cum apparatu, gradus et pulpiti ibidem cum stacione crucis, et nova capella beate Virginis in eadem navi. Item (2), novum altare cum Tabula argentea & deaurata, cum apparatu altarum sanctorum Elphegi & Dunstani et una ymagine beate virginis cum corona aurea et gemmis, cum iiij^{or} angulis argenteis & deauratis et cippo aureo precioso cum gemmis in manu virginis pro corpore xpi imponendo, ascendendo et descendendo quum placet. Item (3), iiij^{or} altaria unde duo ex una parte chori et duo ex altera de novo depicta. Item (4), dealbacio totius ecclesie cum nova camera parvorum sacristarum et capella subtus Sancti Andree. Item (5), una camera privata et plumbata juxta vestiarium. Item (6), pavementum ex parte Chori boreali de novo factum. Item (7), via de Ecclesia ad Dormitorium cum reparacione lavatorii ibidem, et subtus nova rastura plumbata. Item (8), clausura vie ex utraque parte de claustro usque ad cameram Prioris, et via de camera prioris usque ad curiam de novo facta et plumbata. Et emendacio gutteri de claustro ducentis se in via que ducit de claustro ad infirmariam primo in via eadem directe usque ad finem capituli exterius, Deinde directe extra capellam Prioris ex parte australi usque ad Cameram Supprioris, Deinde transverse per Cameram Supprioris et transverse magnam aulam infirmatorii, Deinde per Cameram privatam Prioris in longitudine et sic per Cameram subtus le gloriet, Deinde ad caput tercij dormitorii et tunc vertit se ad aqueductum in tercio dormitorio: hoc gutterum fuit antiquum devastatum et perditum tamen reparatum cum magnis expensis et plumbatum in terra in magna parte. Item (9), reparacio dormitorii cum novo tecto plumbato et novis Fenestris et pluribus lectis. Item (10), tectum Dormitorii privatum cum novis fenestris. Item (11), lectum Prioris cum novo studio et aula superius et Garderoba quasi de novo constructa & plumbata. Item (12), via de capella Prioris ad Cameram suam de novo selata et reparata cum novis fenestris et novo camino. Item (13), nova camera subtus*

totaliter constructa cum novo tecto et cooperto cum plumbo. Item (14), alia camera inferius cum camino et balnio honesto. Item (15), superius nova camera privata cum via ad eandem plumbata. Item (16), novus locus pro Deporto, cum subtus celario. Item (17), coquine et alia honesta pro quatuor cameris in Firmaria. Item (18), reparacio de Meisteromers pro majori parte in toto. Item (19), novum opus in claustro adhuc non completum. Item (20), nova Domus capitularii completa. Item (21), tectura Refectorii cum veteri plumbo et xij foderis novi plumbi additis. Item (22), nova camera Celerarii cum nova scola monachorum.

Reparaciones in Curia.

(23) Quodamodo reparatio aule celerarii cum nova via ad Portam curie & reparacio ejusdem porte. Item (24), nove camere pro hospitio juxta coquinam conventus cum novo lardario subtus, et novo camino supra coquinam. Item (25), reparacio domus bracini. Item (26), domus in officio celerarii pro necessariis suis. Item (27), nova sartrina. Item (28), novum granarium. Item (29), novum stabulum Prioris. Item (30), novum orrium pro feno Prioris. Item (31), clausura murorum de Northegate usque ad quenegate cum iij^{or} Turribus plumbatis. Item (32), reparacio porte cimiterii cum ij domibus sacriste in Burgate. Item (33), nova sacristaria in Cimiterio cum nova plumbaria. Item (34), hospicium in villa, vocatum le Chekere de novo totaliter constructum. Oxonia exceptis aula et ij cameris omnia edificia sunt de novo constructa una cum capella.

[Then follow *opera* and *reparaciones* at the various Manors, closing with *Libri scripti et adquisiti tempore ejusdem Thome Prioris*.]

The following more concise notice of the works of this Prior, given in the Obituary (Ang. Sacra, p. 143), has evidently been abridged from the above Roll, and the comparison of the two illustrates the manner in which such accounts were formed :—

J. Chillinden, Prior.—Clastrum quoque, Domum Capitularem, Magnum Dormitorium cum nova viâ versus Ecclesiam, & subtus domum rasturæ de novo fieri fecit.

Certa etiam ædificia intra ambitum Curiae consistentia, viz. Sartrinum, Granarium, Stabulumque Prioris, & muros cum turribus ejusdem Curiae, domosque quamplures necessarias longo tempore dirutas, de novo fecit & emendavit.

Ædem quoque lapideam juxta aulam Prioris que vocatur Pavid Chamber, cum duabus aliis cameris, lectumque Prioris in Dormitorio cum Studio & aliis domibus annexis, laudabiliter reparavit. In *elemosynaria* verò aulam Presbyterorum & aulam puerorum cum aliis diversis ædificiis de novo construxit.

No. VII.

Report of the Dilapidations of the Archbishop's Palace, c. 1348, from the Register of the Letters of Prior Robert (Hathbrande).

Reg. 12 of the Chapter Archives, fol. 76 b. (Hitherto unpublished.)

Memorandum quod magna aula in palacio domini archiepiscopi indiget magna reparacione viz. in gutteris coopertura fenestris vitris et ligneis hostiis atque muris. Item Capella indiget reparacione in celatura. Item camera domini parva indiget reparacione viz. in fenestris hostiis & coopertura. Item magna camera indiget majori reparacione quia omnes fenestræ sunt fractæ & pars muri ejusdem. Item coquina pro eadem camera reparari non potest nisi de novo totaliter construatur. Item domus magna que vocatur aula beati Thome juxta cameram domini est adeo ruinosa, quod sine nova constructione reparari non potest. Item camera juxta magnam aulam indiget reparacione in coopertura. Item alie due camere inter magnam aulam & magnam cameram situate sunt adeo ruinosæ quod reparari non possunt sine constructione facienda de novo. Item magna coquina indiget coopertura. Item magna porta cum stablis indiget magna reparacione viz. in coopertura hostiis atque muris. Item multi sunt alii defectus in predicto palacio viz. in porticibus gradibus et aliis diversis partibus quos ad presens nescio ennumerare.

Ex Reg. literarum Dⁿⁱ Rob p^s.

[This document is not dated, but those before it have dates 1338, 1341, 1344, and after it, 22 E. 3, 1348. The Prior was Robert Hathbrande (from 1338 to 1370). Archbishop Stratford died 1348, and was succeeded by Ufford, who died before he was consecrated, 1349, and by Bradwardin,

who also died 1349, and was succeeded by Islip, who sued the administrators of Ufford for dilapidations to the value of £1101. 5s. 2d., which sum the latter was sentenced to pay (Batteley, 72). The above document is connected with this matter, and recites the dilapidation; the survey was made at the desire of the Archbishop, as appears from a previous entry, but as it is not dated the name of the Archbishop in question is uncertain, but was probably Ufford himself.]

No. VIII.

[The following document, which I have referred to repeatedly in the preceding pages under the name of the "Distribution Document," is a most valuable link of connection between the monastic buildings, on the one hand, and the Prebendal houses with other Chapter buildings which were constructed out of their ruins, on the other. It has been employed by Somner, who first transcribed it, and by Battely and Gostling.

Hasted gives a copy of this document in his 'History of Kent,' fol., vol. iv. p. 570; and again, in his 8vo 'History of Canterbury,' 1801, vol. i. p. 497. He observes that "the frequent changes which appear by it to have been made between some of the prebendaries of those lodgings, at first allotted to them, and then again to others on the demise of any of their brethren, some with the consent of the chapter, and others by order of the visitor, make it very difficult to ascertain to which stall they in reality belonged, and these changes seem to have continued till some time after queen Elizabeth's accession; since which the lodgings have remained fixed to the prebendaries, according to their respective stalls." In printing the document he has omitted Somner's notes, and placed the descriptions of the allotments in the order of the numbers of the stalls to which they were given in his time. The present reprint is from my own literal transcript of Somner's own manuscript, preserved in the Chapter archives, and is accompanied by his own notes, hitherto unpublished, but which give most interesting and curious information concerning the mode in which the transformation of the conventual buildings into a group of dwelling-houses and gardens was carried out. My own notes are marked (R. W.), and in the margin of each allotment I have in brackets added the number which is attached to it by Hasted, with the letter H. to indicate my authority.]

The Distribution Document.

The division and distribution of houses (or Lodgings) to and amongst y^e Deane prebendaries and preachers of Christchurch, Canterbury, by decree of Chapter, begunne November 25 and continued to y^e 29th of the same. Anno Dni. 1546, wth Notes.

The Deanes.
lodging.

First from y^e Chapell doore next y^e Dortor to have y^e chapell wth y^e Closet, the old Cheker wth all manner of Chambers thereunto belonging, both new and old; lately appertaining to y^e Prior there, with y^e corne lofts and sellars under them, adioyning to y^e west end of his great gardens. And alsoe all y^e brewhouse separate now from Mr. Parkehurst lodging, and y^e bake-house, and all other houses as the whole lodging lately ordeyned for y^e M^r of y^e choristers unto y^e Deanes stable. And y^e gatehouse there next to his stables: alsoe y^e great barne next y^e stables, and y^e twoe stables lately called y^e Prior's stables, and y^e sumptery stable wth y^e Carter's hall. And a division to be made betwene M^r D^r Ridleies garden directly from M^r Deanes gate. And to stop up y^e walke upon y^e wall. And M^r Deane to have y^e whole roome from y^e barne with y^e towne wall and tower unto Dr. Ridleies orchard pale. And a way to be reserved for M^r Deane to y^e Posterne gate. And y^e garden before his hall doore with y^e wine sellar.¹

The Bp. of
Dovor, Dr.
Thorntons
Lodging.

1. First to have y^e vault called Bishop Becket's tombe under our Ladies chapell. The house called his bakehouse, his kitchen, hall, parlor, buttery, the south side of y^e old chapell, y^e chancell there, with all manner of build-

¹ By decree of chapter 1547, the next yeare after this Division, "That y^e great Dortor shall bee taken downe and wth y^e stuffe thereof coming to be builded certaine lodgings for y^e Pety canons and Vicars, and other houses of office to them by y^e discretion of y^e Prebendaries;" and the yeare following by a like Decree, "That of y^e leade that should be taken downe from y^e great Dortor, M^r Deane to have twoe foder, and everye Prebend to have one foder."

ings by him y^ere made, his courts before his hall doore and kitchen, with y^e garden before his gallery and his old garden in the sanctuarie, with his orchard and tower therein, and y^e stable next to y^e middle gate. And y^e hay house next M^r Seinligers stable along y^e Deanes garden.¹

Mr Sentle-
gers Lodging.
(2. H.)

2. First, he to have y^e North side or Isle of y^e ffermary chapell, wth y^e garden on y^e North side; the old table Hall with y^e kitchin, buttery, y^e chamber called Gonnissons chamber, and y^e Lodging at y^e upper end of y^e hall, the little garden there, and y^e stable next M^r Deanes stable with y^e little barne.

Mr Park-
hurst's Lodging.
(4. H.)

3. He to have y^e kitchen with his larder next y^e doure, wth all y^e wall roome, tower, towne wall, garden to y^e stables, the whole lodging from Mr. Deanes wall against y^e well late made in the brewhouse, y^e kitchen before named pertaining to his lodging. The stable next y^e garden wth y^e hay house thereunto belonging.

Dr Ridleyes
Lodging.
(5. H.)

4. He to have all y^e chambers and house from y^e chamber now Wilfm Wyndcheps being annexed unto y^e lodging named y^e *Homors*,¹ wth all manner houses there above and under, joyning to his garden, and soe farre crosse y^e great chamber as his garden wall directly departeth. And a division there to be made crosse y^e chamber as y^e garden wall lyeth. And all y^e back garden to M^r Deanes garden, with y^e towne wall, the tower lately in y^e tenure of M^r Daniel, And also y^e Stable next the bakehouse.

¹ By decree of chapter 1545 the yeare before this division, the Common garden was divided into 12 parts, viz. to M^r Thornden, Menyl and Daniell to have and keepe y^e upper garden. M^r Milles y^e next garden now hedged. M^r Ridley y^e next. M^r Parkhurst y^e next hedged. M^r Seintleger and Devenish y^e next twoe gardens hedged and paled. M^r Glasier and M^r Hunt all y^e vacant roome from M^r Parkhurst garden to y^e santuarie wall. M^r Golsen and M^r Nevill y^e vacant roome from M^r Ridly and Milles gardens to y^e foresaid wall. All y^e great allies to be paled, &c.

- Mr Mennys Lodging.
(6. H.) 5. He to have y^e other part of y^e foresaid great chamber in y^e *homors*,¹ the rooms underneath, with y^e gallery and garden and his old chamber, with all manner of chambers, sellars and roomes there enclosed, and y^e stable next y^e forge barne and y^e hay house betwixt y^e barne and y^e B^p of Dovor.
- Mr Glasiers Lodging.
(7. H.) 6. He to have y^e whole Lodging from y^e Larder gate to y^e Pentise gate,² with y^e chambers there called Heaven and Paradise; and soe through y^e Frater, and to y^e cloister. And all y^e Frater to y^e Dortor wall, y^e common kitchen³ with all manner houses sellars and lofts. The lead timber and free-stone of y^e frater take downe for y^e Treasure of y^e church⁴ and y^e stable next M^r D^r Ridleyes.

¹ Following a copy of this decree before I had a sight of the originall, I have in *my Survey* written it Honors.* And truly as it is in y^e originall Homors, I know not what it may signifie or whence the name should come But have guessed att the derivation of that other name of Honors in y^e same treatise.

² Soe called from a long entry or passage, vaulted over comming to it from the Court gate, or (as wee now more commonly call it) the Porter's gate: where, under the gate southward, was not only a door opening into the then Porter's Lodge, a^o 1550 altered and made on the other side of the gate as now it is, but alsoe another doore opening into that long entry, pentice, or passage of old, serving for carriage and recarriage to and from the Cellarer's Hall, the common Hall also and Kitchin; but afterwards, within the memorie of some yet alive, used by the grammar Schollars for their passage to and from church.

³ This kitchen with y^e other roomes about it as superfluous was y^e same yeare with y^e Frater by Chapter decree ordered to be taken downe in these words, "Item, y^e common kitchen to be taken downe with other superfluous houses there, and all y^e stuffe to be carried away and M^r Glasier to have y^e roome; with y^e long seller under y^e frater."

⁴ What here you see allotted to y^e company in common was shortly after given and graunted from them to M^r Rob Goldson in the order of this division y^e 8th Prebendary, in particular, by what meanes & to what intent shall be shewed at large in treating of that Prebendall house.

* The expression *my Survey* shews that the writer of this transcript was Mr. Somner, in whose 'Survey of the Antiquities,' etc., p. 106 (Bately's edition), the "Honors" are discussed. (R. W.)

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>Mr Milles
Lodging.
(10. H.)</p> | <p>7. Hee to have y^e whole lodging with the garden next y^e Pentise in y^e court with y^e whole lodging over y^e court gate. And y^e stable with y^e hay house lately y^e Treasurers store house adjoyning neere y^e bakehouse.¹</p> |
| <p>Mr Goldson's Lodging.
(3. H.)</p> | <p>8. Hee to have twoe lodgings late Mr Harles (Searles, H.) and Mr Brookes with y^e roomes square to y^e tenements. And to have y^e stable that Mr Devenish lately had.²</p> |
| <p>Mr Nevills
Lodging.
(8. H.)³</p> | <p>9. Hee to have Mr Coks Lodging with the Plumery and close and gardens impaled upon y^e hill to y^e schoole garden.</p> |
| <p>Mr Devenishs Lodgings.
(9. H.)</p> | <p>10. Hee to have y^e whole lodging that Mr Crosse had, beneath and above, with all manner of Roomes within y^e gate called y^e Hogg Hall. The whole garden, with the vaults and towne wall. Provided y^t Mr Milles have a wood house soe convenient for him as he now hath, els to keepe y^e same.</p> |

¹ By decree of Chapter a^o 1547, "Item, Mr Milles to have unto his lodging y^e part of y^e gallery from his house to the end of my Lord of Canterb^s bakehouse & soe into y^e Court.

² A decree of Chapter a^o 1569, "That y^e roofe of a house (once a Prebend's Lodging) neere Mr Deanes kitchen, Item, of a chapell, to be taken downe & y^e lead of it sold."

In June 1547. The Chapter make the following decree, "Item, y^t at the Sight of the L^d Protector his letters, tendring y^e Kings M^{ties} pleasure, the Chapter hath granted that Mr Rob^t Goldson shall have allowed to him for y^e lead, stone, timber, and other things sold and otherwise spent lately of y^e late ffrater house six score and tenn pounds, and as much other timber for y^e timber of y^e same as is spent and taken from y^e said ffrater, and shall have as much Iron as shall be thought meete for him by the Vice Deane and Treasurer. And y^e said Mr Goldson to have all y^e iron, glasse, timber, and stone now left of y^e same frater unsold, soe as he build a convenient new Prebends house, and convey and cary away the rubbish of the same Frater."

Hereupon this Mr Goldson forthwith built and sett up that which at present Dr Jackson, as his successor, now inhabiteth.

³ His name is in the list of the twelfth Prebend; the Bishop of Caithness, Rob^t Steward, eleventh; Mr Ponet, eighth.—Battely, p. 128, etc. 1703. The other names in the list coincide with Battely's list and Hasted's numbers.

- Mr Ponetts Lodging. (11. H.) 11. Hee to have y^e other lodging called Homors wth y^e gallery att y^e doore above and beneath. And y^e chapel above and under, and y^e orchard inclosed with stone walls next y^e street square with his lodging. And y^e stable with y^e hay house late Mr Daniells. And licence to build a gallery of tenne yards upon y^e Bishop of Dovors garden wall there.
- Lo : of Cathnes Lodging. (12. H.) 12. He to have y^e lodging in y^e late long hall¹ from Mr Deanes lodging to y^e Bishop or Dovors lodging with all manner houses and vaults late in y^e tenure of Mr Arthur Sentleger. And a way through y^e Gimews² to bring in wood. And y^e stable betweene Mr. Ponitt and Mr. Parkhurst.

¹ In y^e yeare 1545, the yeare before this division, a decree was made in Chapter "That y^e long hall should be pulled downe with speed."

² This gymewes (or guimawes) is a French word signyfyng a place of Wild Mallowes & such a place is this, wayed into by a doore in y^e dark entry under the east end of the Deanes Chapel... this is now noe Prebends house but belongs to Dr Jackson by lease from the Church.

No. IX.

EXPLANATION OF PLATES 1, 2, 3. Fig. 33 AND Fig. 8.

Roman capitals, from A to P, are reserved for the source and tanks of the waterworks, in accordance with those introduced into the copy of the small Norman drawing (fig. 33). But the scale of the plan we are now considering necessarily excludes the source and tanks outside the city wall, from A to F, and leaves only the tank G, which was fixed close to it.

Tanks under their different names.

G Tank outside the city wall.

H First Lavatory, erroneously termed the Baptistery.

I Second Lavatory, in the great Cloister.

K Third Lavatory, opposite to the Infirmary door. Between these two lavatories is the well (14) and the great stand-pipe (13).

L Cistern (or *fons*) in the outer cemetery, for the use of the townsfolk, near which is a second well.

M M' Piscina, or Fishpond.

N the Prior's cistern (*fons*).

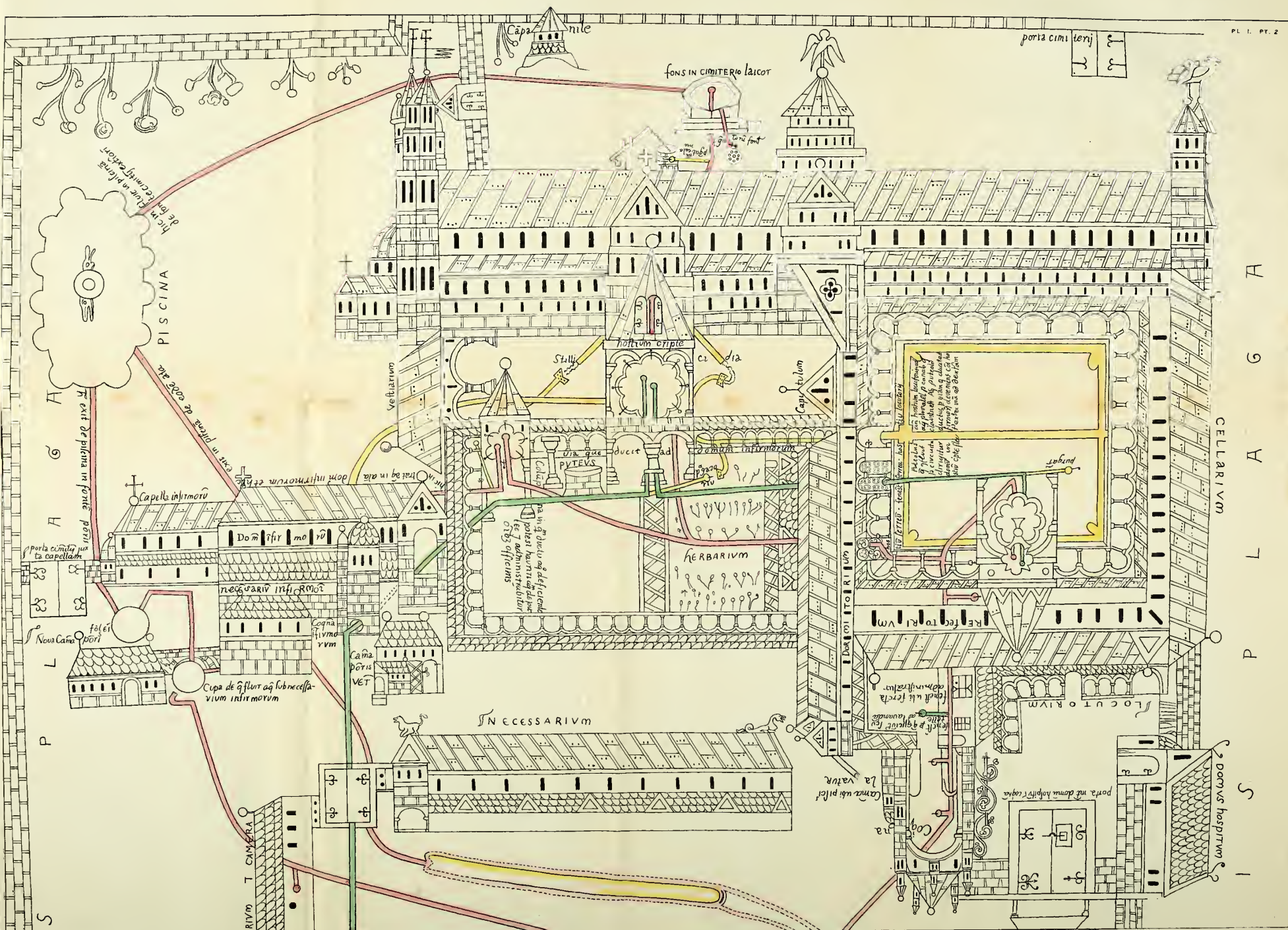
O the Prior's water-tub (*cupa*).

P the Lavatory under the North Hall (Aula Nova).

1 7 2 A H H

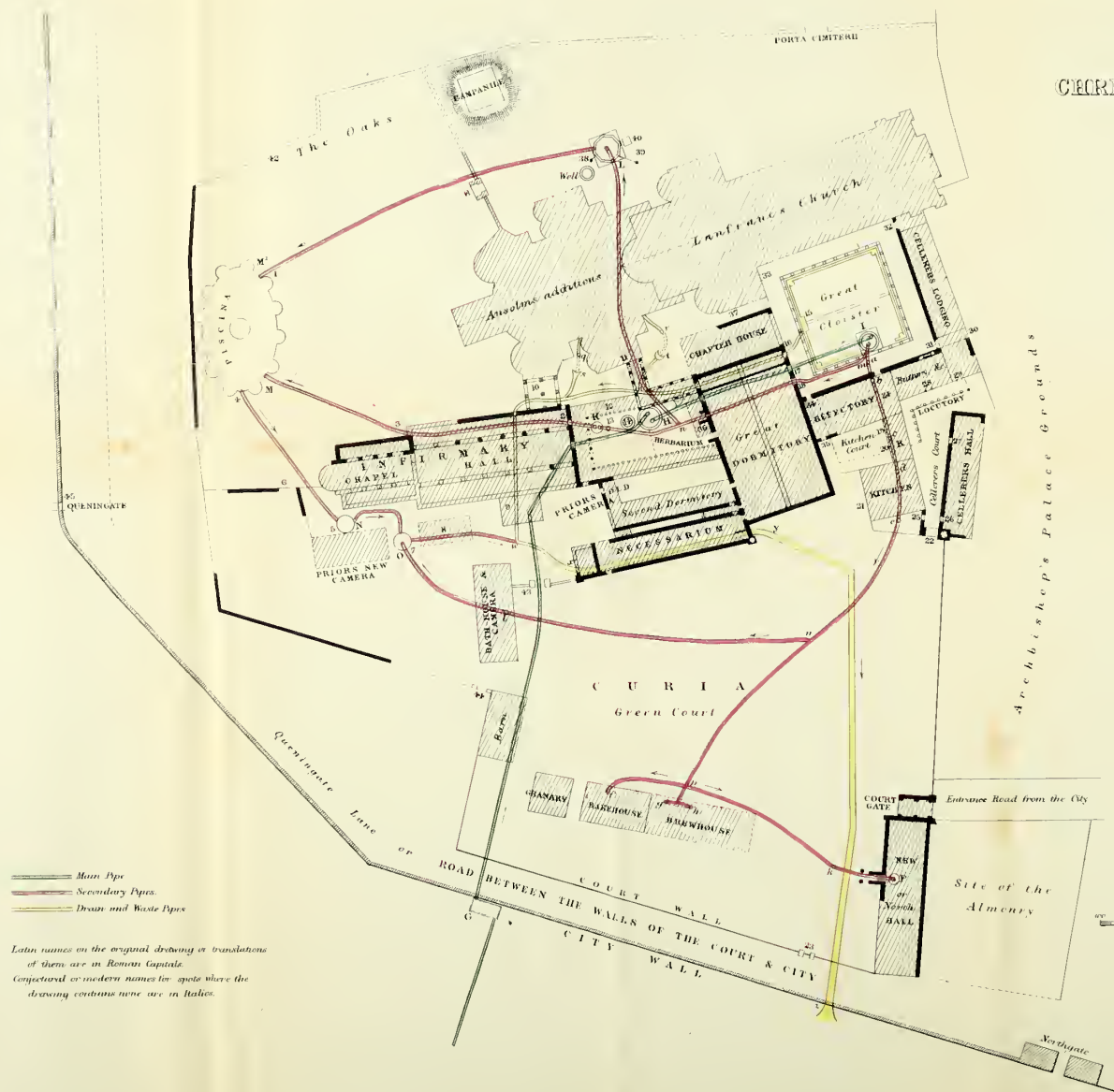






CHRIST-CHURCH, CANTERBURY.

PLAN OF THE BUILDINGS
of the
PRIORY
at the
PERIOD OF THE NORMAN DRAWING,
as indicated by the existing remains.
The Waterworks are inserted on the authority
of that drawing.



Latin names on the original drawing or translations of them are in Roman Capitals. Conjectural or modern names for spots where the drawing contains none are in Italics.

Stand-pipes, denoted by a small circle on the plan lines of the water-pipes.

- a* opposite the Refectory door, in the north alley of the cloister.
- b* within the Refectory door, in the vestibule.
- c* in the passage between Refectory and Kitchen.
- d* in the Kitchen.
- e* in the Larder.
- f* in the Bakehouse.
- g, h* in the Brewhouse.
- k* in the Court.
- l* in the Bath house.
- m* junction of pipes in the north alley of the great cloister.
- n, p* junctions of pipes in the court.
- q, r* rain-water pipes in the angles of the north-eastern transept, termed "*Stillicidia*" in the Norman drawing. From them the water runs through gratings at *s, t* respectively, into the long underground drain which conducts the rain-water from the Great Cloister through the Dark Entry or Locutorium at (16), and so under the Vestiarium (10), Infirmary Hall, and Kitchen (9), to *w*, where it is joined by the pipe which conveys away the surplus water that passes from the great piscina through the Prior's tanks N and O, and that from the Bath-house. From *w* the drain proceeds to the east end of the Necessarium at *x*, and, passing under the range of sedilia, emerges at *y*, and is conducted northwards below the surface of the court to the city wall, where it opens into the Town ditch at *z*.

Original Inscriptions upon the great Norman drawing (Plate 1).

These are either simply the *names* of buildings and places, as Capitulum, Herbarium, Refectorium, or *explanatory sentences*. All these are given in my facsimile exactly as they are placed in the original, preserving all the contractions and forms of the letters and lines. In the old engraving of this drawing in the 'Vetusta Monumenta,' great liberties were taken with these inscriptions.

Thus, a Title was added above the south or right-hand margin, as if the engraver intended that for the top of the plan. The contractions of the inscriptions were expanded, and their aspects changed, so as to give them either a north aspect or a west, that they may be read without twisting the book. In the drawing the inscriptions face east, west, north, or south, according to the aspect of the elevation to which they belong. Each name is written over, under, or upon its respective building, with one exception, namely, the Locutorium in the Celerer's Court, which word is written under the base line of the arcade, but *in the opposite aspect*.

The sentences are expanded and translated in the following list. The figures of reference shew their position in the places of the plan, Plate 2, that correspond to those they held in the Norman drawing.

Latin Inscriptions upon the Norman drawing.

- L Fons in cimeterio Laicorum.
- 1. Hic influit in piscinam de fonte
Cimeterii exterioris.
- 2. Hic intrat aquam in alam do-
mus infirmorum.

Translation.

- Cistern in the Laics' cemetery.
- Here the water flows into the fish-
pond from the cistern in the outer
or Laics' cemetery.
- Here the water passes into the aisle
of the Infirmary Hall.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 3. Et hic exit in piscinam de eodem ala. | And here comes out of that aisle, and enters the fishpond. |
| 4. Hic exit de piscina in fontem Prioris. | Here it quits the fishpond, and passes to the Prior's cistern. |
| 5. Nova Camera Prioris et fons ejus. | Prior's new camera and cistern. |
| 6. Porta cimiterii juxta Capellam. | Cemetery gate near the Chapel. |
| 7. Cupa de quam fluit aqua sub necessarium infirmorum. | Tub from which the water flows under the necessarium of the Infirmary (8). |
| 8. Necessarium Infirmorum. | Kitchen of the Infirmary. |
| 9. Coquina Infirmorum. | Vestary or Treasury (substructure of). |
| 10. Vestiarium. | Door of the Crypt. |
| 11. Hostium Cripte. | Passage which leads (from the great cloister) to the Infirmary. |
| 12. Via que ducit ad domum Infirmorum. | Stand-pipe into which, when the waters of the source fail, water raised from the well (14) may be poured, and it will be distributed to all the offices. |
| 13. Columna in quam ductu aque deficiente, potest hauriri aqua de puteo et administrabitur omnibus officinis. | Well. |
| 14. Puteus. | Small cistern (under the pavement?) before the door (16) of the Locutory; the rain-water delivered into the gutters which are fixed round the Cloister garth is turned into this cistern, and conducted in a drain-pipe under the passage which leads to the Infirmary Hall. |
| 15. Puteolus ante hostium Locutorii ad quod confluunt aque pluviales per canalem qui per circuitum Claustris est, a quo puteolo dirigitur ductus per viam que ducit ad domum Infirmorum, et deveniens contra hostium cripte flectitur extra viam ad dextram. | This pipe, when it comes opposite to the crypt door, is turned to the right, and continues its course outside the passage. |
| 16. Hostium Locutorii. | Door of the Locutory. |
| 17. Fenestra ferrea. | Iron grated window. |
| 18. Hostium ferreum. | Iron door. |
| 19. Fenestra ubi fercula administrantur. | Window where the portions are served out. |
| 20. Fenestra per quam ejiciuntur scutelle ad lavandum. | Window through which the platters are tossed out for washing. |
| 21. Camera ubi piscis lavatur. | Chamber in which fish is washed. |
| 22. Porta inter Domum Hospitum et Coquinam. | Gate between the Guest Hall and Kitchen. |
| 23. Postica juxta Aulam Novam. | Postern near the North Hall. |

The following references in Plate 2 indicate places not explained in the Norman drawing.

24. Vestibule of Refectory, continued northwards by (R), the covered way to the Kitchen.
25. Door to Larder and Kitchen.
26. Door to substructure of Guest Hall and to turret-stair.
27. Entrance to Guest Hall.
28. } Doors from Locutory to Butteries and Celerer's offices.
29. }

SURVEYED, MEASURED &
A.D. 184

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SURVEYED, MEASURED &
A.D. 184

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- 30, 31. Passage from the Palace to the Great Cloister.
30. Door to Palace grounds.
31. Door to Cloister at N.W. corner.
32. Door from the Cloister to the Palace grounds at S.W. corner.
33. Door from Cloister to N. transept.
34. Door from the Cloister to the passage (34, 35) under the Refectory, which leads to the Kitchen Court and Green Court.
35. North doorway of that passage.
36. Sheds in the Herbarium built against the wall of the Dormitory.
37. Ancient Slype or Locutory between the Chapter House and transept of Lanfranc's church. This was superseded by the Locutory (at 16), which leads direct to the Infirmary cloister.
38. Purgatorium or scouring-pipe to the supply-pipe of the cistern L, in the outer cemetery.
39. Do. for the cistern itself.
40. Stone block by the side of the cistern, to enable pails to be dipped into it.
41. Gateway between the exterior and interior Cemeteries.
42. The Norman drawing shews a row of trees along the boundary wall, which are evidently "the Oaks" which have impressed their name on that part of the Precinct.
43. Entrance-gates to the Prior's grounds and Infirmary offices.
44. Postern in the wall of the Precinct.
45. Site of Queningate.

PLATE 3.

Plan of the Remains of the Buildings in the present century.

In this plan Roman letters of reference are reserved for the parts of the block-plan of the Cathedral; Roman numerals for the prebendal houses and gardens, as settled in the time of Queen Elizabeth; and Arabic numerals for the remaining details.

Cathedral.

- A The Corona.
- B Original termination of Trinity Chapel.
- C Tower of St. Anselm, with stair-turret, *c*.
- D Tower of St. Andrew, with stair-turret, *d*.
- E South-east transept, with stair-turret, *e*.
- F North-east transept, with stair-turret, *f*.
- G South-west transept.
- H Chapel of St. Michael.
- I North-west transept, or Martyrdom.
- K Lady Chapel.
- L Central Tower, termed Angel Steeple.
- M South Porch.
- N, N Western Towers.
- P Western Porch.

List of References to the Plan of the present Remains.

In this list, references to the Norman drawing and plan of the Norman monastery are included in brackets and marked with N; thus (61 N). References to other parts of the Plan itself are contained between commas.

1. Original position of the gateway between the exterior and interior Cemeteries.
2. Present position into which it was removed about fifty years ago.

- 3-4. Ancient wall on the line of the Norman precinct.
- 5-5. Ancient wall, termed "Old Wall of the Convent Garden" (p. 10).
- 6-6-7. Another portion of the ancient precinct, now the boundary of the Deanery garden. In the last century it extended, in the direction of the dotted line 7 . . . 16, to the building 17, which is the "Barn" in the Norman drawing. That drawing shews a Postern (44 N) in the wall between 16 and the Barn.
8. Fragment of the old north boundary wall of the interior Cemetery.
9. Fragment of a similar wall, which is seven feet distant from the angle of the Infirmary chancel.
10. Space probably occupied by the Cemetery gate, shewn in the Norman drawing (6 N).
11. Bridge over the Town Ditch, or *Church Dike*, as Wilkes calls it, from a postern gate, 12, in the wall.
13. South end of a gallery, which appears formerly to have extended northward and connected buildings of which (14) is a fragment with the great house of the eleventh stall, anciently termed *Meist'omers* (XI).
14. Apparently, part of the "Long Chamber," which was divided by a wall between the fifth and sixth stalls. The dotted line shews the course of this wall, which has lately been pulled down, and the ground marked VI divided between the eleventh and fifth stalls.
15. Passage, separated from the gardens V and VI by a wall, to give the Dean a free access to the above Postern and Bridge (11 above), granted in 1546.
16. Place of the postern (44, N).
17. The site of the "*Barn*" of the Norman drawing, which was rebuilt by De Estria. The remains of the east wall retain three single
18. light windows at 18, 18, 18, exactly like those in that Prior's Cheker building. The west wall is comparatively modern (*vide* p. 113).
19. Original form of the north end of the New Lodging, pulled down by Dean Percy (*vide* p. 111).
- 20, 21. The Deanery.
22. Position of an ancient window.
23. Vice-turret.
24. The Dining-Hall of the Infirmary, termed *Mensa Magistri* and *Table Hall*.
25. Site of the Kitchen and offices of the Infirmary.
26. The Prior's Tower, built in the west extremity of the north aisle of the Infirmary Hall to supply stairs to the floors of the Cheker Building (*vide* p. 105).
27. Site of part of the Prior's mansion.
28. Chamber, with the Prior's old Study, termed the Gloriet, above.
29. Position of the Dean's gate in 1668 (Wilkes's plan), facing north.
30. Position of the Dean's gate in 1777, facing west (in Gostling's plan). Its present position is between the two, in the curved wall facing north-west.
31. Tower gateway or Porch built by Prior Selling, with Prior's new Study above. From this gateway a covered passage (the Prior's Entry) is continued through (32), cut off from the ground-floor of the Necessarium, to an open court (33), and thence, under the double arch of the Cheker Building (34), to a door, which gives access to the north end of the Porch of the Infirmary (35), over which the Cheker Building extends.
36. Norman ruins of part of the Camera Vetus Prioris.
37. Site of the north alley of Infirmary cloister.
38. South aisle of the Infirmary Hall, fitted up for the Subprior's Camera.

39. Spiral staircase of the Bell turret of the Infirmary Chapel.
40. Subvaults of Treasury or Vestiarium, on the west side of which, at *h*, are the remains of the old subvaults and later foundations of the present Audit Room, detailed in Plans Figs. 5 and 6.
41. Subvaults of Prior's Chapel.
42. Subvaults of Lavatory Tower.
- 43, 44. Norman vaulted cloister, forming, in conjunction with the passage under the south end of the Dormitory vaults, a covered way between the Cathedral crypt and the great Cloister at (50). On the north of 43, at *g*, was the Prior's private oratory, with the shaving-house on the ground (*vide* Plan, Figs. 4 and 5).
45. Herbarium.
46. Position of the altar of Becket's martyrdom.
47. Door from cloister to north-west transept through which Becket passed on the morning of his murder.
49. Door of Chapter-House, with lateral windows.
50. Door of Dark Entry, or passage from Cloister to Infirmary.
51. Door of grated window to Dormitory subvaults.
52. Norman door from Cloister to Dormitory.
53. Door in north alley of Cloister, leading with descending steps to the passage which was constructed under the Refectory floor along the wall of the Dormitory.
54. Pointed archway through which the above passage opened into the Kitchen court, and thus through the Larder gate into the Green court.
55. Lavatories in Great Cloister.
56. Door from north alley, with ascending steps leading to the vestibule (66) of the Refectory.
57. Door in west alley, leading to the Celerer's domain, and also through the door (62) to the Archbishop's Palace.
58. Door to the Celerer's Lodging.
59. Door to the passage 59...61, appropriated to the Archbishop.
60. Door in the north aisle of the Nave which communicates with the south alley of the Great Cloister by a narrow passage and small door between 59 and the church wall (*vide* detailed plan, Fig. 19).
61. Archbishop's usual entrance-door, as above.
62. Archbishop's door, occasionally employed.
- 63, 64. South gable of Aula Hospitum or Celerer's Hall, of which only the lower part remains.
65. North-west angle of the Refectory. This is a ruined piece of wall, retaining the two angle buttresses. The bridge extends from 65 to 64.
66. Vestibule of Refectory.
67. Position of the passage which connected the Refectory and Kitchen.
68. Entrance Door to the Celerer's Hall, for the guests. This gave admission to the vestibule which extended from the south end (64) to the dotted transverse line, and contained a staircase by which the guests ascended to the floor of the Hall which occupied the north part of this building, from 68 to 71, and was raised upon a vaulted substructure.
69. Vaulted passage or Gate Hall, under the Pentise gatehouse, and door to Larder and Kitchen (*vide* detailed plans, Nos. 21 and 22, p. 127). The space from the Butteries northward to 69 is the "Celerer's Court," and had a covered alley, indicated by the dotted lines, against the wall of the Hall.
70. Stair-turret at north-east angle of Gatehouse and Celerer's Hall.
72. Position of offices which were included in the old twelfth prebendal

house, but were remains of the buildings connected with the kitchen service of the monastery.

73. Site of the old Porter's lodge.
74. Open arch, leading from the Almonry to the remaining subvaults of the North Hall, and, by a second arch, 75, into the Green Court.
76. Norman porch and staircase.
- 77, 78. Old Brewhouse and Bakehouse of the monastery, appropriated to the Dean for a brewhouse at the Dissolution, and now employed as a residence for a minor canon at the east end and the choristers' school at the west, and a waterhouse between. A Norman arch remains in the wall, which separates 77 from 78.
79. Porch (Fig. 32).
80. Site of the wooden conduit house, which was set up in the court after the Dissolution, and at the beginning of the last century was removed to its present position at 81.
82. Gateway between granary and bakehouse, termed the Forrins gate.
83. Building on the site of the Norman "Granarium," now part of the Dean's stables.
84. Site of the Almonry Chapel, employed for the King's School after the Dissolution, and now cleared away altogether.

The following references, from 85 to 93, belong to the Archbishop's territory. The boundary extends from the north-east angle, 85, where are the walls of an old external tower; west to 86; north from 86 to 92, along Palace street; thence from 92 east to 93 and 61. The original boundary, from 61, ran north to 62, 63, 71, 70, 85. But the grant of the Celerer's Hall and Lodging changed the boundary course of the line into 61, 59, 57, 62, 63, 64, 70, 85.

87. Remains of a gateway, from Palace Street.
88. Remains of subordinate buildings.
89. Porch of the Great Hall. (This is engraved in Grose's 'Antiquities'.)
- 90, 91. Buildings which formed part of the Palace.

The next three numbers belong to the south-west part of the Churchyard.

94. Entrance gateway, termed Christchurch Gate, from the city to the outer cemetery, now the Cathedral churchyard.
95. Position of an earlier gate which led by a passage, 96 and 97, opening to the churchyard, opposite to the south transept, and thus through the gate (1) to the Schoolhouse at 98, which was fitted up as a new Plumbery when the school was removed to the Mintyard, and is now used as stables for the houses VIII. and IX. The monastic Plumbarium was on the spot, IX.
99. Position of the old stone conduit house, which used to supply the church tenants. (*Vide* Gostling, p. 134, and Wilkes's plan.)

The remaining numbers (100 to 106) relate to the city wall and towers, reckoned from Northgate.

- 100, 101, 102, 103. Four square towers, which, with the city wall "from Northgate to Quenegate," were rebuilt by Prior Chillenden (1390-1411). In Wilkes's plan the tower 100 is termed Dr. Molaine's tower, 101 is termed "y^e forrins," and 102 the Dean's ("y^e D. tower"). The wall from Quenigate to Burgate was built by Prior Selling (1472-94), and the towers 104, 105 are round. The description (p. 10) which states that his portion terminates at the old

convent garden wall, proves that the old wall, 5, is the north wall of the old convent garden.

106. Is a narrow passage, manifestly the end of the old Queningate Lane.
- 107 to 111 shews the course of the great rain-channel or sewer, repaired by Chillenden and Goldston, and still existing, as shewn in Wilkes's plan. It extends along the south part of the Cathedral, from 107 to 108, and, passing round the east end and along the north, turns suddenly under the Infirmary Hall, and runs in front of the Prior's mansion at 109; then bending westward under the third Dormitory and through the Larder gate, bends northward to 111, and quits the precinct at the side of the fourth Prebendary's tower, 100.

The Roman numerals from I. to XII. indicate the houses and gardens assigned to the respective stalls, not according to the first arrangement described in the Distribution document, but as they were finally settled in Queen Elizabeth's reign, and remained until the late reduction of the number of stalls to six, by the suppression of the 2nd, 3rd, 6th, 7th, 10th, and 12th stalls.

- I. This House, which occupied the south aisle and chancel of the Infirmary, and extended south into the gymewes, was lately pulled down, and the ruins of the chancel and aisle left standing.
- II. Assigned to the 9th stall.
- III. Assigned to a minor canon.
- IV. Assigned to two minor canons.
- V. Assigned to the 1st stall.
- VI. Part pulled down and part converted into stables for XI.
- VII. Assigned to the 4th stall.
- VIII. Assigned to the 5th stall.
- IX. Assigned to the 8th stall.
- X. Assigned to the Auditor (including the chamber on the gateway).
- XI. Remains attached to the 11th.

Thus six of the best of these Prebendal Houses have now been assigned to the stalls retained, two of the worst-placed pulled down, and the other four appropriated to minor canons, etc.

EXPLANATION OF FIG. 33 (*Vide* p. 175) (THE SMALL NORMAN DRAWING).

Roman capitals, from A to P, are introduced to denote the source and tanks of the waterworks, in the same order as in Plates 1 and 2.

- A. The source.
- B. The conduit house.
- C, D, E, F, G. The settling-tanks, in order, each provided with its purgatorium or scouring-pipe at the end.
- The cornfields, vineyard, and orchard are indicated exactly as in the large Norman drawing.
- H. First Lavatory, erroneously termed the Baptistery.
- I. Second Lavatory, in the Great Cloister.
- K. Third Lavatory, opposite to the door of the Infirmary (X.).
- L. Cistern, or *fons*, in the outer cemetery. The dotted parts in the engraving denote that the drawing is injured. (The great piscina was doubtless indicated in this drawing on the right side, but the cutting of the margin has removed it.)
- N. The Prior's *fons*, or cistern.

- O. The Prior's water-tub (*cupa*).
 P. The Lavatory under the North Hall.

The isolated representations of the monastic buildings are lettered with Roman capitals, as follows (the references within brackets refer to Plate 2):—

- M. The Prior's gates (43).
 Q. The Brewhouse and Bakehouse.
 R. The Great Kitchen (21).
 S. The Bath House.
 T. The Stand-pipe, which pours the waste water of the branch it terminates into the Prior's water-tub (O).
 V. The Refectory (24).
 W. The Infirmary Kitchen (9).
 X. The Infirmary Hall.
 Y. A mildewed part of the drawing (the Necessarium would have been indicated at this spot).
 Z. Also indistinct, but the thing represented is the broad sewer.

The church shewn behind the tank G indicates the Priory of St. Gregory. In the courses of the water-pipes, the continuous thick black lines are red in the original drawing, and the intermitted thick black lines are green in the drawing.

Explanatory Note to Fig. 8, p. 69.

It will be observed in this sketch that the masonry of the transept wall above the great four-centred arch-head of the Hagioscopic chamber presents a group of projections which at first sight are difficult to understand, and therefore require explanation by means of the plan and section, Figs. 9 and 10, p. 72. This chamber was excavated in the Norman wall at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and, as the drawing, Fig. 8, and plan, Fig. 10, shew, the arched opening extends half-way across the flat face of the buttress westward, and eastwards occupies the transept wall, reaching nearly to the jamb of the Norman window.

In the plan, Fig. 10, the plain line *k, m, n, p, q*, is the horizontal section of the Norman buttress at the level A, B (Fig. 8), and the dotted line *k, i*, Fig. 10, is a horizontal section taken below the former at the level C, D (Fig. 8), which passes through the great transom stone. This stone is cut into the form of a four-centred arch, and was set in the Norman wall to support the Norman ashlar, of course before the excavation into the heart of the wall was made. Now, referring to the plan, Fig. 10, it will be seen that the west end of this transom stone rests upon the projecting flat buttress, and this end coincides at *i* with its face. But the east end is supported by being set into a cavity cut into the ashlar of the transept wall, the face of which is about a foot behind the face of the great buttress.

Thus the face of the great transom stone is thrown out of parallelism with the parallel faces of the great buttress and transept wall, as the oblique direction of the line *k, i* shews. The face of the buttress therefore overhangs the western half of the transom stone, and shows a triangular soffit (*n, i* in the plan), which is sloped upwards. On the contrary, the eastern half, *k, m*, projects beyond the face of the transept wall in the form of a triangle, *m, k*, blunted at *k*, and its upper surface sloped downward from the transept wall.

No. X.

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EXTRACTS RELATING TO THE HISTORY OF ARCHBISHOP BECKET.

From MS. Lansdowne 398, in the British Museum.

COMMUNICATED BY THE REV. J. C. ROBERTSON, CANON OF
CANTERBURY.

A PASSAGE which has already appeared in a critical notice of Mr. Duffus Hardy's 'Catalogue of Materials relating to the History of Great Britain,' may serve, with some abridgment, by way of introduction to the following extracts.

"In Mr. Hardy's elaborate 'Catalogue' Becket occupies eighty pages, and the author enumerates no less than a hundred and twelve articles relating to him. Yet this long and carefully compiled list of materials adds hardly anything of importance to the documents which are already in print. The only pieces which, on looking through the catalogue, struck us as at once unknown to us and likely to be of any interest, were two which are contained in the Lansdowne MS. 398, and these we have lately examined. The first of them, as Mr. Hardy points out, is not noticed in the Lansdowne Catalogue, being undistinguishable in appearance from the MS. of the Life by Fitzstephen, with which the volume begins. But with folio 42 the text of Fitzstephen is broken off, and it is followed by another fragment, which, as Mr. Hardy says, 'appears to be a commemorative homily.' Mr. Hardy, however, has not observed that this in its

turn breaks off with folio 53, and that the next two leaves, which relate chiefly to Becket's consecration, are part of another piece. The remaining tract in the same volume is also of the homiletical kind, and the earlier part of it is marked off into twelve lessons, for use in the service of the church. Dr. Giles has printed the beginning of this (S. Thom. Cant. ii. 316-326), but he does not seem to have been aware that such real value as the work may possess is in the later part, which relates to the transactions after the murder."¹

To this it may be added that Mr. Bond and Mr. Hamilton, of the British Museum, who have favoured me with their opinions on the manuscript, agree in thinking that the portion of the Life by Fitzstephen and the two fragments which immediately follow it (foll. 43-53 and 54-55) are in the same handwriting; that this belongs to the end of the fourteenth century or to the beginning of the fifteenth; and that the third fragment (foll. 65-75) is of the end of the twelfth century, so that it must have been not only composed (like the pieces which precede it) but written very near Becket's own time.

I have not, except in special instances, attempted to preserve the peculiarities of spelling which occur in the MSS.

J. C. R.

I.

[During the Archbishop's exile]

(Fol. 43b.) Multi quasi de crimine lesæ majestatis durissime a regis officialibus conventi sunt et redarguti, quod ei de facultatibus suis aliquid transmisissent.

(Fol. 44b.) In Beati Thomæ veneratione et visitatione fuerunt Angliæ primi novissimi et novissimi primi. Primò enim debiles, pauperes, et minores sensim repunt. Postea me-

¹ 'Contemporary Review,' February, 1866, p. 275.

diæ manus homines adveniunt. Pulso tandem regis timore, ei obviam exeuntibus et clamantibus “*Osanna filio David*,”¹ posteaque “*Totus mundus post illum abiit*,”² ita clerus, baronia, militia, et populus universus Angliæ et vicinarum insularum et regnorum statim accurrunt, catervatim ruunt, Cantuariam veniunt, ubi manus Domini distillaverunt probatissimam.³ Veniunt, inquam, videre ibi Dei gloriam in terris inter homines choruscantem in signis et prodigiis auditis et inauditis. Tandem rex ipse paruit mortuo quem viventem ferre non poterat. Ejus miracula in magno volumine scripta habentur, et extant apud plurimos.⁴

[Near the bottom of fol. 45 a new division of this tract begins. The writer addresses a supposed audience of clergy and bishops.]

A sæculo non est auditum fuisse in Romana ecclesia (Fol. 45 b.) aliquod schisma quod non finiretur vel utroque electorum superstitute vel saltem morte alterius electorum. Nunc autem adeo multiplicata sunt mala, adeo invaluit dissensio, ut, Octaviano in schismate defuncto, secundum jam et tertium idolum elevatum sit, et ab unitate sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ et Catholici papæ Alexandri audientia et obedientia imperator Fredericus cum tota sua sequela discesserit sub jramento Sed miserator et misericors Dominus matri nostræ ecclesiæ Romanæ pacem provideat, et donet unitatem.⁵ (Fol. 47 b.) Sed Domine mi, rex vel imperator, quisquis es

Hi omnes clerici quasi una familia sunt domus Dei, (Fol. 48 b.) ecclesiæ sanctæ, sponsæ Christi, in obedientia et justitia vicarii beati Petri, domini Papæ. Esto, aliquis istorum vel plures mali sunt, latrocinium exercent, fures sunt, incendiarii sunt, vel homicidæ; forum tamen suum habent ecclesiasticum, ubi conveniantur, judicentur, confessi vel convicti degradentur, et a clero postmodum summoti et discoli laicis annumerentur, et tunc demum tui fori, tuæ jurisdictionis, tuæ potestatis esse incipiunt, domine mi rex, ut, si in manus tuas inci-

¹ Matth. xxi. 9.

² Joh. xii. 19.

³ “*Manus meæ stillaverunt myrrham, et digiti mei pleni myrrha probatissima.*”—Cantic. v. 5.

⁴ This probably refers to the work of William of Canterbury, described in our sixth volume, p. 2.

⁵ Hence it would seem that this was written before the reconciliation between the Pope and the Emperor in 1177, which was soon after followed by the submission of the antipope Calixtus III.

derint, non evadant. Quid mirum si clerici omnes de foro tantum ecclesiastico sint, ibi super quolibet crimine conveniendi, judicandi, cum plurimæ civitates seu castra forum suum et immunitatis suæ privilegium habeant super civium suorum causas? Ecce Londonia regni Anglorum sedes est. Cives ejus si accusentur, si de placitis coronæ conveniantur, in civitate sua respondebunt, et legibus suis judicabuntur; non lege duelli, non examine aquæ vel ferri candentis se purgabunt, nisi sponte elegerint, sed ibi finis est omnis controversiæ sacramentum.¹ Oxenfordia similiter se habet, et aliæ aliquæ urbes eadem gaudent libertate. Et forte in aliis regnis, pluribus in locis ita est. Judæis etiam proposita lege sacramentum finis est omnis litis, tam civilis quam criminalis. Numquid tibi, domine mi Rex, indignum debet videri, si clerus honoretur libertate quæ civibus laicis vel Judæis est indulta?

(Fol. 49.) Ut commemorem de maxima ira regum Christianorum, tamen ad consequentiam non trahenda, sed ut infra illam longe subsistant principes, Rogerus Siciliæ, quæ de jure domini Papæ esse deberet, invasor et violentus incubator, domino Papæ reclamanti infestus, episcopis Siciliæ, ad concilium summæ sedis se evocatos esse dicentibus, et ad iter se præparantibus, ait, "Equidem obedientiam, quam Deo et domino Papæ debetis, vobis non inhihero; sed equi et omnes possessiones regni mei meæ sunt; pedibus ibitis." Illi gaudentes (Fol. 50.) quod aliquam contumeliam paterentur pro Christi nomine, pedestre iter arripiunt usque Beneventum.² Quo audito, dominus Papa eis de virtute obedientiæ gratiam habens, pedestrem ad concilium veniendi remisit eis necessitatem, et mandavit redire ad propria. Rex Angliæ Willelmus secundus, beato Anselmo offensus in exilium eunti, misit post eum non³ itinere ei additum quendam de familiaribus clericis suis. Qui celans propositum inter alios sancti archiepiscopi clericos⁴ habebatur in honore, quasi unus ex illis intrans et exiens, et archiepiscopi ad mensam assessor. Ventum est ad mare. Una dierum aëre sereno, vento secundo, cum equi starent et in littore essent sarcinæ et impedimenta, ut in navem admitterentur, ait ille clericus regis sancto archiepiscopo Anselmo, "Domine, ut corpus vestrum retineatur nullum habet dominus rex potestatem; sed facultates, quas

¹ Heb. vi. 16.

² MS. Boneventum.

³ Sic MS.

⁴ MS. Clericis.

extra regnum ejus asportare paras, aurum et argentum, ad opus regis ex ejus præcepto retineo, et huc ad hoc veni." Mox fecit e scriniis et clitellis et loculis omne æs extrahi et fisco sociari. Sanctus archiepiscopus patienter sustinuit, et pauper navem ascendit. Quo cum appulsus esset audito, comes Flandriæ eum facultatibus tanto viro dignis et necessariis sufficientissime instruxit; sed et rex Francorum et magnates Galliæ pia compassione idem fecerunt. Sanctus Anselmus Cluniacum venit, ibique moram fecit usque dum rex humanis rebus exemptus esset, proh dolor, eo fatalitatis¹ modo qui tantum regem, tam illustrem principem, si Deum arctius amasset, non deceret.

[After relating the plunder of the Archbishop's palace by the murderers, the author goes on as follows:]

(Fol. 51b.) Ad hæc quid fecerunt justiciarii præsidesve provinciarum, vicecomites seu alii officiales regis, vel habitatores regni omnes in pacem servandam jurati? Equidem illos sceleratos, illos parricidas, sacrilegos et prædones, per stratam publicam diebus itinerantes inpune abire dimiserunt ad propria. Et postea fere per annum in Anglia commorati sunt, ludentes in avibus cæli et canibus venaticis. Ubi sunt sacramenta pacis conservandæ? Sed dicitis, "Rex ipse dissimulabat." Contra. Immo, conventus postea a cardinalibus ad hoc missis, plene et plane negavit, et juravit se mortem ejus noluisse neque præcepisse; et quia propter eum, licet non per eum, ut se purgavit, occisus est a suis aulicis, absolvi impetravit et pœnitentiæ imploravit remedia. Sed et hic episcoporum et cleri Angliæ admiranda est negligentia. Nullus mutire ausus est, nullus fere ausus est parricidas illos excommunicare. Cantuariensi ecclesiæ versa erat cithara² in luctum, organum in vocem flentium,³ cantatio in plorationem. Nulla ecclesia cum illa (Fol. 52.) matre sua Cantuariensi ploravit, nulla cessavit a divinis, cum potius vel spinis ecclesiarum obstrui debuissent aditus, ut inter vestibulum et altare plorare deberent sacerdotes et levitæ ministri Domini, et dicere, Parce, Domine, parce clero et populo tuo, et ne des hæreditatem tuam in perditionem.⁴ Equidem propter peccata cleri maxime et populi Angliæ ita flagellata est ecclesia Anglicana in patris sui percussione et perpeffione. O episcopi Angliæ, ita destitutus

¹ MS. facilitatis. ² This word is faintly written in the margin.

³ Job xxx. 31.

⁴ Joel ii. 17.

fuit bonus archiepiscopus vester occisus vestro¹ et ultione, sicut vivens vestri auxilio et consolatione. Solus relictus fuit in certamine. Equidem dixit de vobis dominus Papa Alexander, durante adhuc distantia regis et archiepiscopi in exilio morantis, cujus litteras et mandata recipere noluistis, cujus potestatem et obedientiam appellationibus vestris annuis et annum includentibus frustratorie delusistis: "Magis," inquit, "conturbant animam meam episcopi Angliæ, qui obedientiam promiserunt et observare contemnunt, quam episcopi Allemaniæ, qui in schismate isto, imperatoris timore incumbente super eos, nobis obedientiam nec promiserunt nec observant." Item illud Henrici Londoniensis, "notæ per oppida buccæ,"² a multis auditum est. Erant in ecclesia Beati Pauli Londoniensi una dierum aliqui episcopi et abbates considerantes ad cognitionem quarundam causarum ecclesiasticarum ex præcepto domini Papæ, et multitudo magna clericorum, civium, militum, et aliorum cum eis. Intraverunt forte et quidam Judæi Londonienses, qui talibus et aliis se ingerunt conventibus ad repetendum si quos ibi viderint debitores suos. Inter quos et (Fol. 52b.) quidam Judæorum episcopus venit. Cui Henricus ille dicax, "Bene veniat," inquit, "episcopus Judæorum; recipite illum in consessum³; equidem fere nullus est episcoporum Angliæ qui non fraudaverit dominum suum archiepiscopum Cantuariensem, præter istum; in hoc episcopo Israëlitæ dolus non est." Omne hoc malum, O episcopi Angliæ, ex regia in Deum et ecclesiam sanctam injuria ortum, fotum coaluit ex vestra ab unitate cum archiepiscopo vestro discessione, ex discordia vestra intestina, ex timore vestro terreno. Putabatis vos habere archiepiscopum vobis similem, qui suis possessionibus timeret, suam cognitionem ditare et dilatare quæreret, qui suam carnem foveret, qui tempore persecutionis vel sileret vel sub dissimulatione in justitiæ⁴ et libertatis ecclesiasticæ dispendium dispensationem admitteret. Non sic erat, non sic. Bonus archiepiscopus vobis erat, et non agnovistis eum Cognationem suam cognatus Anglorum⁵ posthabuit, nisi quem

¹ Some word with which *vestro* ought to agree has been omitted.

² Juvenal, iii. 35.

³ MS. Concessum.

⁴ MS. Et libertatis in justitiæ.

⁵ This might seem to favour M. Thierry's idea that Becket was of Anglo-Saxon descent, and was a champion of his people against the Norman conquerors. But ought not the reading to be *cognatis aliorum*?

meritorum qualitas commendaret, aut de quo, juniore adhuc, ex bonæ indolis flore fructum vitæ melioris speraret. Carnem suam non fovit, immo a die consecrationis suæ domuit cilicio asperiore et esu vel potu parcior. Tempore pacis fregit quæ dominari vellent in eo carnalia desideria. Tempore persecutionis inventa est ejus præsto quam pro ecclesiæ causa et libertate ecclesiastica poneret anima

[Fol. 53. The section ends with a prayer for the Church and kingdom. Then begins a discourse on the heathen fashion of celebrating birthdays, as exemplified by Pharaoh and Herod; and it is said that instead of this the Christian usage is to celebrate the day of death "sive pœnalis, ut martyrum, sive simpliciter fatalis, ut aliorum." Fol. 53* ends, while this subject is still in hand, with the words "adjecit fidelium devotio."]

II.

[The second fragment begins on fol. 54 with the words] cleri, frequentia magnatum, concursu militiæ et populi, pari omnium lætitia, læta, hilaris et jocunda, ut plane velle videretur Deus, quod ita plene volebat clerus, militia et populus. Hora diei quasi quarta, compositis omnibus præparatoriis, et episcopis suis episcopalibus instructis, reliquisque ecclesiasticis personis prout competebat ordinate et ornate se habentibus, a revestuario ecclesiæ usque magnum altare ille venerabilis electus Thomas progreditur, in capa nigra et superpellicio, ut clericum decebat et archidiaconum. Fuerunt qui post martyrium ejus dicerent, quod cum ordinandus processit, habitum monachi et cilicium, in quo inventus est martyr Christi, intus gerebat absconditum; sed quod vel quando illa scema¹ religionis notæ Deo sed absconditæ hominibus susceperit, hujus consilii æstimo non fuere multi conscii vel participes. Ante illud sacrum altare super gradus prostratus, orationi aliquamdiu incubuit. Erectus in chorum coram est adductus; sed quia aulicus fuerat, regis s[cilicet?] officialis et cancellarius, ne postmodum posset Cantuariensis ecclesia occasione ejus perturbari, si rex mutato circa eum affectu vellet ab eo exigere ut suas exponeret rationes, seu super mutuis, seu super redditibus vacantium episcopalium ecclesiarum vel abbatarum, seu super castellariis et

¹ "*Scema* vel *schema* proprie usurpatur pro habitu monastico" (Ducange, s. v.). We ought, of course, to read either *illud scema* or *illa scemata*.

servitiis militaribus, primo petivit Cantuariensis ecclesia dicens, "Si persona ista libera et immunis et ab omni sæculari querela¹ nobis tradita fuerit, parati sumus eam talem recipere, et ordinandam episcopis repræsentare." Ad hæc domini regis primogenitus et hæres, postmodum rex Henricus tertius, tunc major decenni, jam juratis ei omnibus de regno, sed et bonus (Fol. 54b.) comes de Legrecestrie Robertus, principalis justiciarius Angliæ, aliique officiales et comites et barones regis, qui fere omnes aderant, eundem Thomam ex parte regis tunc transmarini, et ejus mandato et præcepto, Cantuariensi ecclesiæ a cancellaria et omni sæculari officio et debito et querela liberum et immunem, solutum et quietum, reddiderunt. Cumque de manus impositione pro dignitate ecclesiarum suarum contentio soleret esse inter Rophensem episcopum, ejusdem Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis capellanum, et Londoniensem episcopum, Archiepiscopi decanum, ibi alter[c]ari desitum est, et Wyntoniensi episcopo, qui Londoniensis absentis, vel cum vacat ecclesia illa, vicarius est, illa manus impositio et ordinationis celebratio salvo jure cujuscunque est delata pro bono pacis, tum pro reverentia illius festivitatis, tum pro auctoritate ipsius domini Wyntoniensis. Igitur anno Dominicæ incarnationis millesimo centesimo sexagesimo secundo, operante Spiritu Sancto, manus imponente Henrico Wyntoniensi episcopo, beatus Thomas Cantuariensis ordinatus est archiepiscopus. In illa consecratione perfusus unctione olei exteriori et visibili, peramplius et perfectius perfusus est unctione misericordiæ Dei, rore Spiritus Sancti interiore et invisibili. Reddidit eum ibi Deus de potente sæculi pauperem Christi, de sæculari (ut videbatur) ecclesiasticum, de mundano cœlestem, de carnali spirituales. Quam laudabiliter exinde vitam instituerit, quantum quotidianis incrementis virtutum perfectioni addiderit, qualiter etiam postmodum aborta [oborta?] adversus eum et clerum seditione pro ecclesiæ libertate laboraverit, et contra principem et potestates regni usque ad mortem decertaverit, in vita ejus et passione descripta latius exequuntur. Quam felix fuisset Anglia sub pastore tali, si aliquamdiu advixisset in (Fol. 55.) regno, quæ ita feliciter magnificata est ejus festinato martyrio! Quam beatus fuisset rex suus tali archipræsule, si ejus adquievisset monitis et consiliis, quæ vel ab ipso sancto sibi transmissa sunt exule!

¹ There seems to be something wrong here. Perhaps insert *soluta*.

In crastino autem ordinationis suæ, cum eum de dono suo precibus sollicitarent joculatores, id genus hominum, qui plurimi affluerant, respondit eis modeste, “Non sum qui fueram cancellarius; quæ retro sunt oblitus, debeo me in anteriora extendere. Pecuniam ecclesiasticam in usus ecclesiæ et pauperum erogandam suscepi; eam vobis dare non habeo; itemque prohibet beatus Gregorius mimis et joculatoribus aliquid dari, ut sic saltem coacti ab illa vitæ suæ cessent scurrilitate, et ad aliquod honestum se conferant exercitium.” Idemque beatus Thomas, qui ita dare consumptoribus et bromiis non adquevit, inter cætera sanctitatis suæ opera adeo pauperibus extitit benignus, afflictis compatiens, ut misericordiæ operibus maxime habundaret, et domus suæ eleemosynam solitam de suorum constitutione antecessorum admodum augmentaret. Viduis præterea desolatis, pupillis quoque et orphanis, infirmis, inclusis, visitationis manum extendebat, et eis opportunum pro tempore consultum ferre satagebat. Pauperibus quoque collegiis monachorum et monialium mittebat quinque marcas, simul summas frumenti, ut de archiepiscopalis facultatis copia omnium, si fieri posset, egenorum sustentaretur inopia. Ejus ordinator venerabilis Henricus Wintoniensis, quem patrem suum scribens ei salutabat, eum a die ordinationis ejus admodum dilexit, et ei in exilio ipsius postmodum munificus et officiosus esse curavit, et fréquenter eum coluit in aureorum et argenteorum suorum transmissione. Atavis hic erat editus regibus,¹ primi (Fol. 55 b.) Henrici serenissimi Anglorum regis ex sorore nepos, regis Stephani frater, et illius regis Henrici secundi quasi avunculus. Iste cum omnimodis et infinitis supra omnes episcopos Angliæ habundaret divitiis, regemque thesauri sui hæredipetam ipsiusque officiales ad eum quasi jam ætate confectum oculos retorquere intelligeret, maluit thesauri sui Christum facere hæredem, habuitque gratiam quæ aliorum divitum rara esse conspicitur. Vix enim aut nunquam datur alicui thesaurum congregare et disgregare. Itaque ita magnifice, ita laudabiliter, aurum suum, argentum, pallia, gemmas pretiosas, supellectilem variam, infra triennium suum dispersit, dedit pauperibus, ut thesaurizans in cælo fisci regii officiales divitiarum suarum et re frustraret et spe. “Væ mihi! pro nobilitate generis mei parsum est mihi, non fui dignus in hac persecutione martyrium vel contumeliam pati pro nomine Jesu. Tempus meum prope est; quando Deo

¹ Horat. Od. i. 1.

placuerit, apponar ad patres meos ; sed cum reliquo corpore meo manus hæc mea non putrebit, quæ illum sanctum Dei martyrem ordinavit archiepiscopum."

Ipsæ beatæ Thomas exoret Dominum pro omnium fidelium salute vivorum, requie defunctorum. Amen.

III.

[This fragment does not appear to contain anything new as to the Archbishop's life.

After relating how the murderers carried off from the palace the plate, etc., "quæ omnia archiepiscopo exeniata erant," the writer goes on :—]

(Fol. 65.) Recedentes ab interfectione cum pompa sua, (siquidem et dæmones pompam habent,) diversa loca et castella peragrarunt, gloriantes et dicentes se diabolum interfecisse. Vere dominum suum diabolum interfecerant. Aduncatus leviathan hamo passionis hujus, inescatus carne hostiæ istius

(Fol. 65 b.) [After an argument that miracles were necessary in the primitive Church.] Constat ergo et in hoc tempore vel fidem periclitatam esse, vel persecutiones imminere, in quo tot et tanta miracula dignatus est Dominus declarare, et martyrem suum tam gloriose magnificare.

(Fol. 66 b.) Passionem ergo beatissimi Thomæ non potuit mundus tacere, quia quamvis homines silerent, saxa et lapides clamarent. Audita autem primo fama hujus tantæ nequitiae, non cito credidit scelus quod horruit, donec testes testibus succedentes rem detestabilem factam lamentabiliter indicaverunt. Vulgare proverbium, "Raro falsum esse quod ab omnibus canitur."

Eodem die passionis beati Thomæ quidam de Cantuariensi ecclesia mare adierunt, et, ne iter eorum ab observatoribus portuum intercluderetur, statim transfretaverunt, rem nefandam et inauditam in nostro tempore, immo, in aliquo tempore, felicissimo Papæ Alexandro indicaturi. Quorum iter ita prospere a Domino directum est per sanctum martyrem Thomam, ut ne unam quidem in itinere molestiam sustinerent. Sed nec defuerant ministri Zabuli,¹ qui passioni ipsius insultantes et quasi congratulantes victoriæ regis Anglorum Henrici, in Normannia tunc

¹ So the MS. reads in this place, although we have had *diabolum* a little above.

agentis, rem ut acta erat victoriose referebant. Quod audiens præfatus rex, rem ut futura erat suspicatus, infamiam necis et proditiōis archiepiscopi in sugillationem personæ suæ et in obprobrium potestatis suæ redundare cognovit. Quod quamvis, ut dicitur, ipse non præcepit, ipse tamen non prohibuisse, immo satellites suos ad hoc verbis exasperasse, dinoscitur. Propter hanc ergo causam vehementer indoluit, sicut David in morte Saulis vel in interfectione Abner; alia tamen causa. David enim quia inimici occubuerunt, ipse quia mortem amici,¹ immo amicissimi sui, sibi novit imputari. Licet enim rex ejus fuerit inimicus, ipse tamen regis intimus amicus erat. Et licet illis doloris alia et alia fuerit causa, similis tamen mœstitia. Prefatus enim rex, audita archiepiscopi famosa morte, cui pacem remeandi in Angliam indulserat, et quem in amicitiam sub testibus et sponsionibus receperat, ita indoluit quod rumorem hunc recitanti neque responsum ded[er]it, neque in illa die cum aliquo colloquium habu[er]it, sed in conclavi receptus usque ad vespertas cibum non sumpsit. Et sicut David lugens filium suum Absalon, ita mente consternatus est. Sed recens dolor intensior solet esse in principio, processu vero temporis vires amittit, infamiaque inproperata primo incutit pudorem, diuturna vero et assueta contemptum. "Iram," inquit poeta, "atque animos a crimine sumunt."² Si enim consuetudo altera est natura, usus mancipatio accipitur pro ratione. Stultorum consolatio est vetus consuetudo, sapiens autem malam consuetudinem deprehensam mutat consilio. Sæpe dictus rex, (Fol. 67.) quem in primordio necis archiepiscopi ita indoluisse diximus, instinctu perversorum hominum, et quasi in decentia³ regis, jam aut parum doluit, immo nihil, aut omnino dolorem dissimulavit. Portus enim maris et littora subtiliter observare præcepit, ut nullus monachus, nullus clericus, nec alia suspecta persona ab Anglia egrederetur, quæ hoc facinus perpetratum Romæ vel alibi propalaret. Miroque modo innotescere timens longius innotuit. Regem tamen ab hoc facinore excusare vellemus, si infandos illos mortis auctores in regno suo non reciperet, si per civitates suas et castella ire non indulgeret, si in silvis suis et venationibus venari non permetteret, si eos non tueretur, si eos non defenderet. Quod fortassis fecit quia ipsos satellites amore suo vel timore cognovit fecisse quod fecerant.

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¹ MS. Inimici.² Juvenal, vi. 285.³ Sic MS.

Audiens etiam rex magnalia Dei et mirabilia quæ per sanctum martyrem suum Thomam fecit, non credidit, sed votivos homines sanctum martyrem poscentes regia majestate prohibuit, suos qui ierant, corripuit, quicumque Cantuariam irent, observare fecit. Sed, Deo gratias, numerus et fides superavit. Et quia “quidquid multis peccatur inultum est,”¹ ad tempus acquievit. Sed ut dicunt (utinam nec diceretur nec verum esset,) in corpus sancti martyris vel in ecclesiam Cantuariensem vindicari minatus est; usque adeo enim iniqui susurratores et serpentini instigatores eum exasperaverant. Sed etiam hoc consilium, immo inpetum, in melius mutavit Deus quando voluit; cito enim, ut sapiens princeps, ab hujusmodi proposito relabebatur; nec ulterius aliquid hujusmodi minitans, de auro et argento et cæteris oblationibus, quæ ad sanctum martyrem deferebantur, priori Cantuariæ et cæteris fratribus sibi debere dari mandavit. Sed, Deo gratias, cito et ab hac exactione resiliuit, Dominus enim cor regis ad pœnitendum et ad credendum de die in diem emollivit. Quia ergo, ut ait Salomon,² “qui (Fol. 67b.) credulus est, pusilli animi est,” et similiter qui nunquam credit, obstinati, rex nec cito credidit nec nunquam, sed exitum rei probare volens sustinuit ad tempus. Quantus vero pudor omnibus Anglicis ubicunque terrarum peregrinantibus incutitur, quanta infamia congeritur, non facile dictu est. Vocantur enim proditores, vocantur fures et sicarii et episcoporum suorum interfectores; et cum modica Anglorum portio hoc elogio fermentata sit, vitium in totam massam redundavit. Clerici quoque in Gallia philosophantes expulsi sunt cum dedecore et magna confusione, impletumque est illud poeticum—

“Quidquid delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi.”³

Christianissimus etiam rex Galliæ, et archiepiscopi et episcopi et comites et barones, inter dominum regem Angliæ Henricum et dominum archiepiscopum Thomam medii et sponsores, litteras et epistolas querelam et calumpniam continentes ipsi regi Anglorum direxerunt, quærentes ab eo quare tantum facinus contra sponsonem eorum vel ipse fecisset vel a satellitibus suis ipse fieri permisisset, cum ejusdem sceleris machinatores nec dampnasset nec exterminasset, cum eos habere potuisset. Et tum minis tum crebris admonitionibus ei mandaverunt quatenus

¹ Lucan. Pharsal. v. 260.

² Where?

³ Horat. Ep. I. ii. 14.

aut purgaret se de hoc crimine, aut ecclesiæ catholicæ, condigne satisfaceret; sin autem, eos adversarios et hostes collaterales in perpetuum haberet. Quibus prædictus rex respondit, admissum facinus nec se præcipiente nec volente perpetratum, et se neque factum neque factores tutari velle, et se super hoc facturum quidquid facere haberet. Sed quia neque purgatio examinari neque satisfactio discerni sine Romano pontifice posset, omnes hinc inde voluntatem et mandatum domini Papæ Alexandri præstolati sunt. Sciens autem rex se super hoc ecclesiæ satisfacere non posse, neque pacem neque veniam mereri, nisi prædictos proditores puniret, et traderet Sathanæ in interitum carnis, ut spiritus salvus fieret in die Domini,¹ verecundans hoc in ipsos exercere, quia propter eum, licet non per eum, hoc fecerant, eos in Scotiam secedere, et ibi juxta morem patriæ in pace latitare, aut præcepit aut consuluit. Quo pergentes flagitiosi, a rege Scottorum et a suis, quasi a bonis Christianis, repulsi sunt, et, nisi timor et autoritas regis Anglorum resisteret et fieri prohiberet, in patibulis suspenderentur. Revertentes ergo in Angliam et finem exitus sui ignorantes, unus eorum, scilicet Willelmus de Traci, statim compunctus et pœnitentia intima ductus, sicut publice peccavit, publicam satisfactionem promisit, et in continenti, sponte et nullo cogente, præter necessitate[m] exilium subiit, et ad misericordiam domini Papæ, omnibus suis relictis et inconsultis, solus quasi publice pœnitens properavit. Alii tres similiter, eadem compuncti necessitate, idem promiserunt, sed prius consilium regis prætemptare disposuerunt, et [ut?] secundum quod faceret, et ipsi facerent. Venientes ergo ad regem, et ipsum super hoc negotio consulentes, tale acceperunt responsum, “Ætatem habere ut ipsi pro se loquerentur, et se ipsos ulterius tueri non posse nec defendere, quippe qui et ipse necessarium habuit se ipsum purgare.” Videntes ergo se non nisi in bivio constitutos, ut aut punirentur aut publicam pœnitentiam agerent, censuerunt melius esse incidere in manus Domini quam in manus hominum, et divino subjici judicio quam terreno. Compunctique et pœnitentia moti, se judicio et misericordiæ domini papæ Alexandri submiserunt. Sed quid faceret ille? Si eos omnino repelleret, sine misericordia diceretur; si eos benigne reciperet, sine justitia; et, si in eos elementius ageret, alii ad consimile facinus incitarentur. Durius autem in eos agens, vel se acturum promit-

¹ 1 Cor. v. 5.

tens, faciem suam vel colloquium non cito indulsit. Cæterum ne desperarent, non tempus subtraxit Tandem ergo dominus Papa, videns præfatorum peccatorum pœnitendi constantiam, misertus eos recepit, sed durius examinavit. Corripiensque eorum vesaniam, gravius in eos puniendum censuit, si non intercessisset pro eis tot sanctorum et fidelium virorum flagitatio. Siquidem secum detulerant supplicationes regis Angliæ et aliorum quorumcunque poterant, ut quacunque satisfactione veniam consequerentur. Tardius vero eos audiens dominus Papa, tandem subjicientes¹ se ex toto censuræ ipsius pœnitentiam indixit Pœnitentiam autem illorum supradictorum factiosorum talem fuisse audivimus, ut præter privatam pœnitentiam, quam omnibus diebus vitæ suæ in jejuniis et orationibus et eleemosynis facerent, loca sancta Jerosolimorum adirent, et ibi (Fol. 68 b.) xiiii annis cum armis militaribus in templo deservirent, et contra paganos dimicaret. Alioqui si non resisteret dignitas Anglorum, qui nullo peccati delicto in exilium delegantur,² illorum gravissimo delicto nulla sufficeret pœna sine exilio. Verum perpendens Dominus Papa satis esse exulari, tot annis Jerosolimis militari,³ et causam necessariam esse propter irruptionem paganorum, qui tunc temporis Christianitatem occupaverant, indicta illis pœnitentia prædicta, et ab illis accepta, dimisit eos, ita sane ut hoc tempore in pœnitentia Jerosolimis peracto Romam redirent, et se de cætero consilio Papæ qui tunc sanctæ Romanæ præesset ecclesiæ subjicerent. Duo ergo eorum statim in continenti gratanter pœnitentiam susceperunt; alii vero duo, inflictæ pœnitentiæ pondere, ut sibi videbatur, proffigati, ad tempus resiluerunt; sed postmodum et ipsi adquieverunt.⁴

Episcopi quoque qui adhuc vivente archiepiscopo Thoma a summo pontifice Romano vel officio vel communione privati erant, quorum instinctu superius diximus ipsum archiepiscopum tam inaudite ad extrema perductum (et utinam in hoc

¹ *Qu.* Subjicientibus.

² The privilege that no Englishman should be obliged to go beyond the seas by way of penance is said by some to have been acquired from Pope Benedict III. by Ethelwulf, the father of Alfred the Great. Others say that it was bestowed on Canute, when he visited Rome. See Thom. Rudborne, *Hist. Winton.*, in Wharton, *Angl. Sacra*, i. 202; Gaimar, in Petrie, *Monum. Hist. Brit.* 821.

³ *Sic MS.*

⁴ This sentence seems to be in a different hand from the rest.

falsi essemus), unicum et ipsi remedium reconciliationis inveniunt, videlicet, ut adhibitis vel præmissis aliquibus intercessoribus, quos dominus Papa refutare vel repellere vereretur, ad misericordiam ipsius confugerent, et vel purgarent se vel satisfacerent. Siquidem antea clericos suos cum muneribus et supplicationibus Romam direxerant, nec aliquo modo sine præsentia sua [domino Papæ vel legatis ipsius]¹ exhibita reconciliari poterant. Innitens ergo dominus Eboracensis tuitioni et præsidio et auctoritati quorundam magnatorum² de curia Romana et intimorum amicorum domini Papæ, contestansque se immunem criminis sibi illati, purgationemque promittens, ipsis et aliis collateralibus domini Papæ manu nuntiorum suorum infinita data pecunia, non cito gratiam promeruit, sed ejus suffragatoribus restitit dominus Papa non mediocriter. Sed aliquando sedula postulatione et illorum improbitate victus, rationem simul et necessitatem considerans, propter ipsius et aliorum desperationem, canonica mediante purgatione, ut nec per ipsum nec propter ipsum dominus Cantuariensis interficeretur, archiepiscopum Eboracensem officio restituit. Londoniensis vero, totius ecclesiæ precibus innitens, eadem ratione seu necessitate, canonica præeunte purgatione, ut nec ipso faciente nec volente interfectus esset dominus Cantuariensis, communitati revocatus est

[The King sends repeated missions to the Pope, but without effect.]

(Fol. 69b.) Iterum autem atque iterum rex perpendens quia supplicationibus nihil proficeret, sed magis curiam Romanam exasperaret, domino Papæ nuntios et hujusmodi mandatum direxit, ut si in eum durius aliquid ageret, ipse parti schismaticæ adhæreretur quæ tunc in Alemannia schismate Octoviani³ aberraverat, vel ipse apostolicum suum tertium in terra sua faceret, et pro curia Romana in nullo ulterius obsecundaret. Et horum fortassis alterum fecisset, nisi consilium et voluntas Lodovici regis Galliæ simul et timor et proprius pudor restitisset; sapiens enim semper in malefactis pudorem veretur Supradictis ergo causis omnibus, vel aliqua ex multis, rex a concepta destitit præsumptione, sed adhuc quasi præpotens et dives in sua perstitit exactione.

¹ These words are in the margin of the MS.

² *Sic* MS.

³ *Sic* MS.

[The King offers to submit to the judgment of the Church. The Pope sends Albert and Theotwin as legates for the settlement of the affair.]

(Fol. 70b.) Venientes ergo longo itinere ad terram præfati regis Francorum, honorifice ab eo et ab omnibus suis suscepti sunt, præstolantesque in Gallia nuntios suos ad scitandum regem Angliæ paraverunt. Audiens vero sæpedictus rex Anglorum adventum apostolicorum legatorum—sive contempnens mandatum domini Papæ, sive ingruente necessitate avocatus, nescio—a Normannia, in qua tunc temporis agebat, in Angliam transfretavit. Nullamque ibi moram faciens, ad Hiberniam, in qua exercitus ejus in expeditione ad terram illam sibi subjugandam morabatur, navigavit, ibique fere per dimidium annum perendinavit, filiumque suum, novum videlicet regem, in loco suo ad faciendum quod ipse facere deberet, reliquit. Quod audientes legati, se esse delusos existimaverunt, et per diversas terras et ecclesias pergentes emendaverunt quod potuerunt. Statimque mittentes in Angliam, in die tertia ante natale Domini ecclesiam Cantuariensem reconciliaverunt, et officia sua celebrare apostolica auctoritate monachis ejusdem ecclesiæ indulserunt. Conquestique sunt valde de absentia regis, quem paratum ad satisfaciendum et mandatis domini Papæ obediendum existimaverunt. Sed secus contigit, quum qui eos ad sui examinationem expectasse debuit, longius abscessit. Tunc convocantes concilium quod tunc præ manibus habere poterant, communi deliberatione et consideratione viros industrios et commendabiles personas, videlicet Henricum episcopum Baiacensem et Ricardum abbatem Valacensem et alios cum illis, ad regem in Hiberniam direxerunt, et apostolica scripta ei miserunt, mandantes ei et subtiliter quærentes ut si ipse in Normanniam redire et mandata domini Papæ audire vellet et obaudire, rescripto indicaret; sin autem, et hoc ipsum certificaret, et ipsi peracta injuncta sibi obedientia, et negotio in quantum possent executo, cum despectione sua et confusione in patriam repedarent. Accipiens autem rex simul cum apostolicis scriptis mandatum et consilium Lodovici regis Gallorum, et aliorum nominatissimorum episcoporum et baronum, se quam cito posset venturum promisit, et legatos cum bona pace et bona voluntate præstolari humiliter exoravit. Quod libenter fecerunt, pro nihilo ducentes gravari vel tædio affici, ut ipsum ad emendationem provocarent, et sanctæ matri ecclesiæ debita jura restituerent.

In anno igitur secundo post passionem felicissimi archiepiscopi et martyris Thomæ, jam transacto ferme dimidio anno postquam legati in Galliam venerant, et adventum regis expectaverant, postquam idem rex multa pericula terra marique cum exercitu suo sustinuerat, et maxime in Hibernia, ubi coram oculis suis milites sui fame et egestate et inedia et multimodo languore periclitabantur et moriebantur, tandem perpendens securius esse inde discedere quam ibi manere, jam æstivo tempore serenante remeavit cum paucis in Angliam ab Hibernia, suis ibi relictis in expeditione. Nullamque moram in (Fol. 71.)

Anglia faciens, statim in Normanniam transmeavit, adventumque suum, ut mandatis domini Papæ obtemperaret, et ecclesiæ Dei, si eam in aliquo læserat, satisfaceret, legatis mandavit. Qui coadunato concilio suo cujusque ordinis et gradus, ecclesiasticarum personarum laicorumque numerositate confluyente, Saviniaci primo contra regem convenerunt. Postquam vero præsentiam suam sibi invicem exhibuerant rex et legati, præmisso salutationis eulogio, ut assolet, "Bene," inquit rex, "vos venisse in terram nostram optamus, et ad regni nostri emendationem et confirmationem desideramus;" benigneque eos suscipiens, et benignius in principio audiens, prostratus solo tenus pedibus eorum, quasi sanctæ Romanæ et apostolicæ sedis vicariorum et legatorum, de commissis suis, si in aliquo sanctitatem patris sui, serenissimi Papæ Alexandri, vel curiæ Romanæ læsisset, cum satisfactionis promissione veniam precabatur. A morte vero archiepiscopi Thomæ, de qua dudum impetebatur et reus judicabatur, et jam per annum inter dominum Papam et ipsum causa ventilabatur, ita se immunem esse dicebat ut in nullo sibi consciret quod per ipsum illud facinus fieret; verumtamen si propter ipsum, neque se negaturum neque defensurum, tamen satisfacturum. Ac illi, ut prudentes viri et litterati, sibi undique a cavillationibus et fallaciis præcavescentes, et maxime ne indignum quid sanctæ ecclesiæ et curiæ Romanæ facerent, et culpa a domino Papa in eos redundaret, et infamiae nota ab universali ecclesia, timentes in aliquo surripere, vel magis sibi surripi ab aliquo, justitiæ summopere intendentes, et satisfactioni regis summa vigilantia consulentes, hujusmodi sermonibus ipsum compellaverunt. "Novit prudentia tua, rex invictissime, sanctissimum patrem tuum, iunio, omnium filiorum ecclesiæ, Alexandrum, qui te paternis visceribus complectitur et diligit, tui memoriam indesinenter faciens in sanctis-

simis orationibus suis, nos indignos servos Jesu Christi, causa salutis tuæ et posteritatis tuæ, et pro stabilimento regni tui, et pro communi sanctæ ecclesiæ utilitate, in has remotas a sedibus nostris provincias direxisse. Audivit enim et vehementer indoluit quædam opera detestanda et Deo et hominibus, et Christianis maxime aliena, perpetrata in regno tuo, et culpam et causam in personam tuam redundare. Qui tamen semper bene opinans de te, et bonam spem concipiens de te, qui semper paci et justitiæ intendebas, et sanctam ecclesiam filiosque ejus protegebas, nec cito credidit donec nuntii nuntiis et testes testibus succedentes idem per omnia personabant, et verissimum esse quod audierat lamentabiliter indicabant. Signa etiam plusquam satis manifesta interfectionis archiepiscopi Thomæ delata sunt illi, quibus tandem fidem dedit, quia ulterius dissimulare non potuit quod omnibus notum fuit. Fecit ipse quod potuit; facinus quippe ei displicuit, et quod sibi surripere potuit ut aut illud fieri præcepisses, ut dicebatur, aut permisisses, ut est (Fol. 71b.) videre, gravissime indoluit, et contra spem quam de te conceperat evenisse non mediocriter conquestus est.

Consternatusque animo et duplici causa morte turbatus, sive pro coepiscopi sui Thomæ pœna inflictâ, sive pro culpa tibi illata, quo se verteret, quid prius doleret, non est facile perpendere. Audiens etiam dominus Papa quædam alia Deo et sanctæ ecclesiæ refraganea fieri in regno tuo, quorum non solum permissor vel tutor, verum etiam præceptor dictus es, pœnitentiam tuam et emendationem per te ipsum fieri desiderans, usque huc sustinuit. Cumque crebro ad ipsum eorum clamor pervenerit, descendit ut videret utrum clamorem opere compleveris. Distulit enim sententiam, donec plenius veritatem cognosceret. Quia ergo fama mendax potest esse, vel veritatis metas excedere, quæ divulgata intercapedine locorum distantium suscipit incrementum, et vel falsum vero vel falsum falso accumulât, “ut” illi “perhibent qui de magnis majora locuntur”¹ vel “qui nigrum in candida vertunt,”² nos indignos conservos Christi ad veritatem examinandam, et vice ipsius cuncta pro posse et facultate nostra sananda, ad has provincias direxit. Quocirca, si apostolicis mandatis sicut bonus boni patris filius parere decreveris, et in nullo resistere quod tibi ipse mandavit adjudicaveris, sed per omnia sicut decet obediveris, fide media vel obligatione juramenti te obediendum per omnia et satis-

¹ Juvenal, iv. 20.

² Ib. iii. 30.

faciendum, nos facias esse securos.¹ Sin autem, nihil hic proficientes, sed irriti et confusi, ad dominum Papam repedabimus.” Iratus ergo rex super hujusmodi, ut sibi videbatur, indebita exactione, neque quippiam occultum se juraturum neque quippiam non prætaxatum se facturum dicebat. Quippe, si ita jurasset, tale aliquid a se posset exigere quod nec facere vellet nec posset, et ita ad perjurium tali obligatione cogeretur. Verum, si vellent, ipsi mandatum et consilium domini Papæ exponerent; suum autem esse postea aut facere aut dimittere. Illis vero nequaquam adquiescentibus, (timuerunt enim deceptionem,) rege autem nihil aliud prosequente, sed pæne resiliente, ab invicem discesserunt. Quod pacis et justitiæ amatoribus non mediocriter displicuit, incentoribus vero et exasperatoribus indignationis majestatis regię gaudenter admodum cordi insedit Verum ut quidam amicorum beati Job ait, “Laus ipsorum brevis est, et omne gaudium ypocritæ ad instar puncti.”² Qui primitus de dissidentia regis et legatorum ita exhilarati erant, jam cito mente sunt consternati; (Fol. 72.) et qui prius ad repulsam legatorum acclamaverant jam palinodiam (ut dicitur) cecinerunt. Archiepiscopus enim Rothomagensis et episcopus Luxoviensis et alii tam episcopi quam alterius cujusque dignitatis clerici, cum fidelibus laicis, exasperatam regis indignationem mitigaverunt, et materie obligationis ejus a legatis exactæ in parte exposita, sicut ipsi ab eisdem legatis acceperant, quia in nullo regiam majestatem dehonestaret, sed magis pacem et concordiam persuaderet, ipsum regem ad obaudiendum per omnia mandatis apostolicis et satisfaciendum revocaverunt. Illis ergo apud Averanches convenientibus, juxta examinationem legatorum præfatus rex juravit, et clara voce et fidem omnibus faciente contestatus est, archiepiscopum Cantuariensem Thomam nusquam ipso præcipiente interfectum, sed neque volente, nec minus se pro morte ejus inopinata consternatum quam si proprius ejus oppetisset filius. Sed quia iracundiæ flamma commotus sæpe satellites suos in præfatum archiepiscopum exasperaverat, quem ipse quasi sibi contrarium minime dilexerat, quod per ipsum eos nequaquam fecisse juravit, propter ipsum fortassis fecisse non negavit. De quo non solum satisfacere sed et satisfacere juxta consilium et examinationem Christianitatis et promisit et com-

¹ There is something wrong here; but the intended meaning is clear.

² Job xx. 5.

plevit. De aliis quoque, super quibus impetebatur, sicut de vacantia ecclesiarum Anglicarum, et de indiscretis¹ Clarenduniæ decretis, vel siquid aliud esset quod emendare exigeretur, secundum consilium suorum congruam faceret emendationem. Hæc est ergo forma pacis et concordiæ inter felicissimum Papam Alexandrum et invictissimum regem Angliæ Henricum, et modus satisfactionis ipsius regis Alberto et Teodino legatis: Ut præfatus rex statuta sua Clarenduniæ ad unguem oblitteraret, nullum eorum in posterum resuscitaturus; et singulis ecclesiis libertates et dignitates suas concederet, et omnibus pastoribus orbatis infra xl dies adventus sui in Angliam, canonica mediante electione, quam illis concesserat, provideret. Insuper ut ce^{tos} milites armis instructos Jerosolimis per unum annum ad defensionem Christianorum contra paganos stipendia- ret, et demum ipse rex per seipsum cum toto conatu suo, nisi alia intercurrente necessitate avocaretur, et cum licentia domini Papæ remaneret, contra paganos militaret. Hæc ergo sponsione rex conservare jurisjurandi obligationem promisit, et promissum fideliter effectui mancipavit. Restitutaque ecclesia in gradum suum, et Cantuariensi reconciliata, et illa aliisque canonice pastoribus illuminatis, legati Romam redierunt; rex autem paci et justitiæ indesinenter intendebat. Non multo enim postea quam rex prædictam sponsionem fecit, filium suum novum regem in Angliam destinavit ad id quod promisit exequendum. Qui veniens in Angliam duxit secum Roteroum Rothomagensen archiepiscopum, et episcopum Ebroniacensem et alias excellentes personas, quatenus eorum officio simul cum quibusdam Angliæ episcopis nova inungeretur regina, et eorum consilio archiepiscopi Cantuariensis sequeretur electio canonica. Quos ideo ad inunctionem reginæ asciverat, quam illa per Roteroum Eboracensem et per Gilebertum Londoniensem (Fol. 72b.) et Saresbiriensem celebrari et administrari contempsit, sicut rei eventus aperte declaravit. Nam convocatis episcopis et abbatibus Angliæ, ut præfata solempniter juxta morem patriæ inungeretur regina, præfati tres episcopi, qui dudum beato Thomæ restiterant, et ideo a domino Papa anathematizati vel suspensi (licet jam, ut diximus, canonice purgati,) propria ipsius regis jussione ab illa inunctione sunt remoti; administratio autem illa per transmarinos episcopos supra notatos, et per quosdam Angliæ episcopos, Wintoniæ celebrata est. Cujus rei causa

¹ This word is a conjecture, the MS. being indistinct,

Londoniensis episcopus acerbissimo correptus dolore, ut dicitur, vel potius ultione percussus divina, per quam ex vexatione intellectus nonnunquam ministratur auditui, Deoque pœnitentiam ipsius provocante, qui sæpe percellit ut sanet, corripit ut corrigat, in lectum decidit, et gravissimo languore seipso destitutus, ad mortem fere et irremediabiliter, ut omnibus videbatur, pluribus diebus laborabat. Donec a suis consultus et crebro persuasus [est] ut a beato Thoma, quem in vita sua supra modum inquietaverat, et post mortem etiam insectatus fuerat, veniam postulare, et de admissis satisfaceret et de cætero quiesceret, pœniteret perfecte, et indulgentiam Dei et sancti martiris postulare. Visitatus ergo gratia Dei, et salubri castigatione ad pœnitentiam provocatus, indiciis quibus poterat aquam sancti martiris cum supplicatione veniæ postulavit. Jam enim per triduum ingravescente morbo loquelam amiserat, et quid faceret aut diceret penitus ignoravit. Postquam vero aqua sancti martiris intra fauces ejus recepta est et degustata, loquela ei restituta est et sanitas inchoata, et postea de die in diem plenius donata; liberaque voce protestatus est, ut si eum Deus per merita beati Thomæ reviviscere vellet, sufficientem Deo et sancti Thomæ exhiberet de contemptu reverentiam, de inobedientia humilitatem, de injuriis satisfactionem, et ipse pedibus suis locum martirii sui adiret; [quod et fecit.]¹ Benedictus Deus per omnia, amen, qui sic sternit ut elevet, sic flagellat ut sanet. Perpendo enim in hoc facto quasi alterum Saulum prostratum et Paulum resuscitatum. Cum enim episcopus præfatus religiosa fuerit persona et sapiens et litterata, in hoc ei valde surripuit, quod patri suo spirituali tanto et tam sancto [tam]² inhumane restitit, tam inaudite rebellis fuit. Aliis autem bonis suis multis et variis, quæ circumspectius gesserat, meruit et ab hoc errore non suo sed divino absolvi judicio. Ecce de quo supra diximus profectus reconciliationis ipsius cum summo pontifice, quia anima ejus, quæ ex dampnatione ejus periret, jam ex reconciliatione ejus inventa est, lucrifacta est ex lenitate quæ ex severitate esset labefactanda. Sarisbiriensis quoque timens judicium Dei non solum æternum sed etiam temporale, sciensque durum esse incidere in manus Domini, recolensque quia semper est paratum tempus miserendi Deo, præoccupavit faciem ejus in confessione, et judicium prævenit oratione. Proficiscensque Cantuariam, ante sepulcrum sancti

¹ These words are interlined.² Interlined.

martyris in orationibus [excubando]¹ pernoctavit, oblationem suam ibi obtulit, veniam postulavit et impetravit absolutionem [Eboracensis vero, diu in sua obstinatione persistens, tandem et ipse pœnituit, et locum martyrii beati Thomæ cum veniæ supplicatione petiit.]²

Celebrata igitur inunctione reginæ Wintoniæ, omnes qui aderant episcopi et abbates et aliæ ecclesiasticæ personæ, aliisque convenientibus apud Windlisoveres ad eligendum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum, beati Thomæ successorem, novo rege præcipiente et eodem præsentate convenerunt. Adsciti fuerunt et Odo prior Cantuariensis et monachi ejusdem ecclesiæ, ut simul cum adscitis episcopis et clericis idoneam tanto regimini personam, tantæ excellentiæ condignum, canonice eligerent, electumque susciperent. Ubi illis astantibus ut sibi dignum pastorem secundum sacros canones et regis promissa eligerent, quædam personæ potius contra canones quam secundum illos præsentatæ sunt, intrudendæ potius quam eligendæ, magisque videbatur in tali electione suscipiendi præceptio quam canonica deliberatio. Prior enim Cantuariensis et monachi qui cum illo venerant, quasi qui secundum Deum electionem fieri postulerent, ita prudenter responderunt, ita constanter egerunt, ita circumspecte se habuerunt, ut neque minis neque blanditiis aliquam personam susciperent nisi canonice electam. Præsentatasque sibi personas causis rationabilibus prætensis refutaverunt, non quin idoneæ essent personæ, sed quia sibi fuerant magis idoneæ. Quippe dicebatur in ecclesia Christi Cantuariæ religiosas esse personas et ad hujus regiminis gradum suscipiendum satis idoneas. Visum sibi si libertas canonicæ electionis eis indulgeretur, de se ipsis sibi decerni et provideri pastorem debere; non oportere aliquam personam natione alienigenam vel conditione remotam vel professione divisam, [diversam?] cum de se haberent qui subrogari posset et debuisset, eligere vel suscipere; prætendebant etiam dominum Odonem priorem ecclesiæ Cantuariæ, virum religiosum et prudentem et sobrium et litteratum, dignum esse archiepiscopatu; ipsumque et alios plures in ecclesia Cantuariæ sub regularis institutionis norma vivere, inter quos qui eis præficeretur canonice suscipi oporteret, de quibus propter sanctæ vitæ honestatem et scientiæ perfectionem non solum episcopus vel archiepiscopus, verum eligi posset apostolicus. Cæterum si hæc canonica elec-

¹ Interlined.

² These words are an addition to the original MS.

tio eis non concederetur, esse in Anglia et de Anglis episcopos et abbates, et Cantuariensis ecclesiæ professionis monachos religiosos et sanctos, in quibus aliqua idonea persona idonee eligeretur, ut recursus ad transmarinos episcopos vel abbates neque suppeteret neque competeret. Ipsos vero nulla occasione, sed neque coactione, aliquem suscepturos qui canonice non eligeretur, vel per hostium Christum non ingrederetur. O beatæ constantiæ viros ubique prædicandos, omnibus ad exemplar subjiaciendos, omnibus sub exemplo imitandos, qui (Fol. 73b.) communi utilitati potius quam propriæ consulentes, posteris providiores quam sibi commodiores, exulare vel exterminari maluerunt quam indignum pastorem ecclesiæ Christi electione præficere, vel etiam dignum indebite suscipere ! utilius judicantes bono etiam pastore ad tempus carere quam sub specie canonice electionis mercenarium intromittere, vel quantumlibet bonum contra dignitatem et privilegia Cantuariensis ecclesiæ intronizare. Quod audiens præfatus rex, sicut erat benignus et affabilis et bonis pollens moribus, nihil contra Cantuariensis ecclesiæ privilegia regia potestate facere præsumpsit ; neque contra patris sui præcepta et voluntatem pro illa vel cum illa statuit, sed hinc inde quod audierat benivolentiæ¹ et audientiae, voluntati et deliberationi, patris sui protelavit. Indixitque ut omnes octavo die post festum sancti Michaelis convenirent, quatenus tunc fieret quod modo non potuit ; videlicet ut qui metropolitane Anglorum cathedræ præsideret, beatoque Thomæ martyri succederet, juxta voluntatem [regis]² patris sui et cleri electionem ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariensi digna præficeretur persona. Interdum novus rex Cantuariam profectus est ad visendum sepulcrum sancti martyris, qui eum in pueritia nutriverat et quem ipse adprime dilexerat. Quo veniens, gravibus se lamentis dedit, plorans et ejulans, solo tenus prostratus ante sepulcrum sancti, eo quod in vita archiepiscopi patri suo aliquamdiu contra eum consenserat, eique cum patre suo aliquatenus restiterat, eique edictum regia majestate dederat ut in ecclesia sua³ Cantuariensi se reciperet, et inde non egrederetur, ne moreretur. De his et de aliis sancto martyri injuste patratis patri suo et sibi humiliter veniam precabatur. Scimus autem ipsum sanctum martyrem iram vel vindictam non reservare, sed magis pœnitentiam delinquentium desiderare. Susceptus autem rex a monachis ejusdem loci honorifice cum processione, Deo et sancto martyri Thomæ multa donaria *obtulit, et multo*

¹ Sic MS.² Interlined.³ Sic MS.

*plura*¹ promisit. Statuto ergo die venit rex ad Windelisoures, ubi ad eligendum archiepiscopum clerus et populus convenerat. [From this point the MS. seems to be written in another hand, the words "susceptus . . . convenerat" being repeated.] Quo venientes prior Cantuariæ et monachi ejusdem ecclesiæ, præsidente novo rege, assidentibus justiciis², præsentibus episcopis et abbatibus, affluente minore clero et populo, præfatus prior Cantuariæ et monachi sui, primo sermoni suo et rationi primæ et privilegiis Cantuariensis ecclesiæ et communibus decretis innitentes, liberam sibi dari electionem postulabant, quatenus cum ascitis episcopis simul et cætero clero dignum tanto ministerio eligerent pastorem. Denique dictum est illis (Fol. 74.) ut aliquam personam nominarent, ne, si regi placeret persona, jam de electione aliqua superesset controversia; sin autem displiceret, ad aliam respicere oporteret. Quibus verbis illi nullatenus adquiescentes responderunt, se nullam nominare personam, nisi prius sine contradictione eis daretur optio eligendi visam sibi idoneam. Quod quia esse contrarium regis patris sui edictum novus rex intelligeret, quem sciret in eligendo archiepiscopo potius voluntatem suam quærere quam aliquantulumlibet validam rationem; electionem archiepiscopi ad audientiam patris sui usque ad festum sancti Andreæ protelans, scitatis priore Cantuariensi et monachis suis, ut eodem die coram rege assisterent, dimisit omnes ad propria. Ipse vero novus rex ad transfretandum se expedivit, sicut ei rex pater suus mandavit. Dispositisque pro voluntate sua regni negotiis, Normanniam transfretavit. Prior quoque Cantuariensis et monachi sui ante præfixum sibi diem prospero cursu directi coram rege assistiterunt. Quos rex honorifice et benigne suscipiens, expensa et omnia necessaria usque ad adventum regis filii sui, qui nondum venit, immo ad quantumlibet morosam comperhensationem in Normannia, gratanter obtulit. Cui illi uti decuit gratulantes dixerunt sibi sufficere paupertatem suam et expensam quam habebant, existimantes, si regis propitiaretur voluntas, non morosam ibi facere comperhensationem. Altera vice, cum sæpeditus prior cum suis coram rege assisteret, rex fixam eorum constantiam humilitate vincere malens quam austeritate, complosis manibus, fixis in terram genibus, oculis sursum erectis, sic stetit coram eis, se peccatorem clamitans, [se miserum reclamitans,]³ eo quod in necem archiepiscopi Thomæ consensisset, non quod eum interfici præ-

¹ The pen has been run through these words. ² Sic MS. ³ Interlined.

cepiisset, sed quod verba diceret pro quibus interficeretur. Et misereri sui deprecans, et sedulo repetens, et eadem concinnans verba, petit, monet, laudat, permitti sibi talem archiepiscopum Cantuariensi ecclesiæ præficere qui menti suæ insideret, qui secundum cor suum ambularet, cujus obtentu ecclesiæ Cantuariensi benefaceret, oblata restitueret, et majestate sua protegeret; ut tali mediante archiepiscopo, infortunium quale de proximo acciderat, et minora quæ sæpius in eadem ecclesia contigerant, penitus excluderentur. Cujus persuasibilibus verbis et ponderosis et sensu plenis, ut qui super ætatem et æstimationem sapientia polleret, industria et facundia, jam dictus prior Cantuariensis Odo, et ipse vir industrius et religiosus, humiliter, reverenter, rationabiliter et circumspecte, ut qui secundum Deum iret, et nihil quod sibi accedere¹ posset timeret, respondit [The prior is represented as discoursing at great length on the necessity of choosing a fit person, and on the qualities which an archbishop of Canterbury ought to possess. Among other things—]

“Multæ sunt causæ, O rex, quibus oporteret archiepiscopum Cantuariensem monachum esse. Quorum omnium maxima, (Fol. 75.) quam supra diximus, scilicet stabilimentum regni, sustentatio patriæ, religionis vigor, lætitia populi, gloria Dei. Revolve retro annalia temporum volumina, et invenies hæc omnia orationibus archiepiscoporum [monachorum viguisse, sæcularium vero archiepiscoporum neglectu]² deperiisse, ipsosque quasi indignos periculo vitæ vel ordinis subjacuisse, regnum quoque Anglorum discidio vel deditioni, divisioni vel desolationi, patuisse.”

[This doctrine is then illustrated by instances. Odo, although previously a secular, took the monastic habit at his election; and under him things went well. Alfsin, a secular, was frozen to death on the Alps.]

“Credo quod super eum venit præsumptio sua; credo si monachus esset, non sic eum interire sineret Deus; privilegium enim monachorum a Deo est.”

[Dunstan, a monk, was great as an archbishop; Alphege, a monk, received the crown of martyrdom. Stigand, a secular, was deposed; “Nec solum illi infortunium contigit, sed etiam per peccatum ejus regnum ab Anglis translatum est ad Normannos.” Lanfranc and Anselm, both monks, were eminent for their virtues, and in their times the kingdom prospered.]

¹ Sic MS.

² Interlined.

(Fol. 75b.) “Post hos, in tempore Henrici regis avi tui, O rex, Willelmus Curbuilensis, clericus nobilis et canonicus, archiepiscopus Cantuariensis factus est; [sed]¹ quia monachicum habitum ante promotionem suam, sicut præfati boni et sancti, non induit, et licet bonus intravit, non tamen bene, audi quale periculum non solum in ecclesia, verum etiam in regno contigit. Hic etenim, post homagium et fidelitatem per juramentum Henrico regi avo tuo et hæredibus suis factum, post decessum ipsius gloriosissimi regis, contemptis ejus hæredibus, cito declinavit, et consensit comiti Stephano, et ipsum contra juramentum suum regem inunxit; quo facto et ipse perjuri reus extitit, et regnum ad tempus a manu tua, cui hæreditario jure cessit, recessit. Et quia perjurus in inunctione ipsius regis Stephani missas celebrare præsumpsit, Dei judicio ad futurorum malorum præsagium pax in fine missæ pronuntianda et danda oblita est, et dominicum corpus a manu consecrantis ita divinitus subtractum est, quod neque sumptum neque inventum est. Credo quod corpus quod ad discipulos intravit in cœnaculum januis clausis, hoc indigni se subtraxit manibus consecrantis. Ecce quanta mala clericus ille ecclesiæ intulit et regno; regno, inquam, de jure tunc tuo, sed ejus præsumptione tunc non tuo. Veruntamen adhuc unum addam exemplum, quod ipse melius nosti, O rex. In tempore tuo Thomas cancellarius tuus, nunc per martyrium Dei secretarius, voluntate et jussione tua archiepiscopus Cantuariensis factus est. Sed quia neque canonice electus erat, neque religionis monasticæ habitum induerat, et ipse neci succubuit, et tibi ipsi et posteritati tuæ quod nosti accidit. Parco enim et defero majestati tuæ. Et quia idem minus canonice archiepiscopatum indeptus erat, indeptum postea sponte dimisit, et falce passionis suæ peccatum purgavit. Cujus quamvis malus esset introitus, sed exitus sanctus; inchoatio injusta, sed consummatio perfecta. Sed quid prosunt exempla, nisi assit qui exemplificet? Tuum ergo est, O rex, ad supra dictorum bonorum archiepiscoporum et monachorum exempla archiepiscopum sanctum et monachum beato Thomæ subrogare, immo subrogari permittere.”

Cum hæc et his similia venerabilis prior Cantuariensis Odo peroraret, rex arrectas aures et attentas dictis accommodans, tandem breve subjecit responsum, dicens

[Here the MS. breaks off.]

¹ Interlined.

JOHN CADE'S FOLLOWERS IN KENT.

BY WILLIAM DURRANT COOPER, F.S.A.

A MEETING of the Kent Archæological Society at Ashford would have been incomplete, if there had been no notice taken of the great rising in 1450 of the "Commons of Kent," under Cade, their "captain," who has been called (though erroneously) "the Tanner of Ashford."

Ashford and its neighbourhood was undoubtedly the heart of the rising, and it was generally supported throughout the Lathe of Scray, as it was also in the Lathes of Aylesford and Sutton at Hone. There were comparatively few places in the Lathe of Shepway, from whence adherents were drawn to the cause; and, with the exception of the Hundreds of Eastry, Petham, Preston, Wingham, and the Isle of Thanet, the Lathe of St. Augustine was free from the rising.

The particulars relating to this rising,—the dates of the chief events, the station of the persons engaged, the extent of the districts in Kent, Sussex, Surrey, and Essex, from which contingents came, and the time of the pardons under which the great body dispersed,—have all been involved in doubt and obscurity. Yet the Patent Roll of 28th Hen. VI. (part 2, m. 13, etc.) contains the materials for supplying many of these wanting particulars. It has upon it the names of many

hundreds of forces of the therein acknowledged "John Mortimer's" followers, who were pardoned, and in most cases their designations and trades.

It has been admitted, indeed, that Cade drew to himself some "tall men" of this county; yet it is not known how many were of old and good families, many remaining to this day. It is worth while at the outset to give their names.

There was 1 Knight—

*Cheyne, John, of East Church, in the Isle of Sheppey.

18 Esquires also appear, viz. :—

Hexstall, William, of East Peckham.¹

Ysaake, John, of Patrykesbourne.²

Pympe, Thomas, of All Saints, in the Hundred of Hoo.

Appuldurfeld, Thos., }
Thornbury, John,³ } of Faversham.

Mareys, William, of Preston, near Faversham.

Edward, William, of Sandhurst.⁴

*Fyneux, John.⁵

Drury, John, of Sandwich.

Ildergate, John, of Sandwich.

Ballard, Thomas, of East Greenwich.

*Culpeper, William, of Goudhurst.

Haute, William.

Burgeys, Thomas, of Gravene.

Seyncler, John, of Faversham.

*Fogge, John, of Chart.

Clyfford, John, of Bobbing.

*Norton, William, of Sheldwyche.⁶

The names only of the five families marked with an asterisk are to be found in the 'Visitation of the County,' in 1579.

¹ The heiress of this family married William Whetenhall.

² Sheriff, 1461. The heiress of this family married a Sydley, and then Sir Henry Palmer.

³ He had been sheriff in 1446.

⁴ In another pardon, as gentleman.

⁵ This was probably an uncle of the future Chief Justice of the King's Bench.

⁶ In another pardon, as gentleman.

74 Gentlemen¹ are also named, viz. :—

- Appelton, Henry, of Buckwell, in Boughton Aluph.
 Miller, John, of Holingbourne.
 Spert, William, of Halden.
 Hogge, Stephen, of Frittenden.
 *Norton, Stephen, of Chart next Sutton.
 Goolde, John,
 Grovehurst, Richard, } of Middleton.
 Buntynge, John,
 Bernes, Robert
 (in two pardons), } of Hawkhurst.
 *Congeherst, John,² }
 *Roberd, John, Senior and Jr., of Cranbrook.
 Cattys, John, of Wrotham.
 (In two pardons.)
 Penwortham, John, and }
 Belde, William } of Canterbury.
 (in two pardons),
 Edward, William, of Sandhurst.
 Hethe, Thomas, of Woolwich.
 Lovelace, Richard, of Byngesdom.
 ——— William, of Bethersden.
 Northampton, William, of Woolwich.
 Ball, Robert, of Thornham.
 *Martyn, John,
 Aleyn, Robert, } of Dartford.
 Appleton, Roger, Senr. and Junr. }
 Rowe, John, of Bexley.
 ——— Robert, } of Aylesford.
 ——— William, }
 Somery, Robert, of Staplehurst.
 Elys, John, of Otham.
 *Twysden, Roger,³ } of Great Chart.
 *Gybbes, John, }
 Bird, John, of Clynton.

¹ A list of the Gentlemen of Kent in 12 Hen. VI. is given by Fuller, and reprinted by Harris, p. 441 ; several of these names appear there.

² Mildred, the heiress of the family, married John Scott, and carried the estate to him.

³ He married Jane, daughter of — Cooper, of Stone.

- Hope, James, } of Wingham.
 Oxenden, John, }
- *Renne, Thomas, of Renham.
 Clyfton, Robert, of Clyfton.
- *Norton, William, of Sheldwych.
 Forde, Richard, of Penshurst.
 Chamberleyn, John, otherwise } of East Farleigh.
 Smethcote, John, }
- Langley, Walter, of Estry.
 Wynterborne, William, of Esshetefford or Wy.
 Stone, John, Jr.
 Vaghen, John, of Gravesend.
 Chertesey, Edmund, of Rochester.
 Same, of Headcorn.
- *Culpeper, Richard, of East Farleigh.
 Cardon, Thomas, and } of Clyve.
 „ John, }
- Est, Robert, } of Maidstone.
 Dyne, Richard, }
- Tragosse, Thomas, of Boughley.
 Odyerne, William, of Wittersham.
 Ridley, Roger, of Canterbury.
 Culpepyr, John, } of Goudhurst.
 „ Richard, }
- *Gylford, John, of Dolling.¹
 Walleys, William, of Dover.
 Chymbham, Edmund, of Southfleet.
 Chertesey, Edmund, of Headcorn.
- *Bettenham, Robert, of Pluckley.
- *Brokman, William, and } of Assheteford.
 „ John, }
- Godewyn, Hugh.
 Barbour, William, of Feversham.
 Payne, John, } of Mereworth.
 Chamberleyn, Robert, }
- *Cheynewe, James, of Westerham.
 Downe, John, and } of Westmalling.
 Langley, Robert, }

¹ He married the daughter and heir of — Worsley, of Sloworthe, and their heiress Margaret married William Cotton.

Atte Wood, Hugh, of Yalding.

Kelsham, Thomas.

Brenheley, Walter, of Denynden.

The names of the yeomen are very numerous, and several of them have risen to the rank of gentry, such as the Courthopes, Tonges, Springetts, and Woodgates; whilst a portion of the old names, such as the Septvans, now lost, were then to be found.

It was not a disorganized mob, nor a chance gathering. In several Hundreds the constables duly, and as if legally, summoned the men; and many parishes, particularly Marden, Penshurst,¹ Hawkhurst, Northfleet, Boughton-Malherbe, Smarden, and Pluckley, furnished as many men as could be found, in our own day, fit for arms. Among those pardoned are the towns of Canterbury, Chatham, Maidstone, Rochester, and Sandwich; John Browne, the Bailiff of Folkestone, and John Cockeram, the Mayor of the new town of Queenborough; the constables of the Hundreds of Eastry, Petham, Preston, Ringslowe,² and Wingham, in the Lathe of St. Augustine; of Chatham, Gillingham, Hoo, Littlefield, Maidstone, Shamwell, Twyford, and Wrotham, in the Lathe of Aylesford; of Boughton-under-Chart, Longbridge, Felborough, Milton, and Teynham, in the Lathe of Scray; of Langport, in the Lathe of Shepway; of Dartford, Blackheath, Bromley, Beckenham, Codsheath, Lessness, Ruxley, and Somerden, in the Lathe of Sutton at Hone.

In East Greenwich and Dartford, which were close to the Camp at Blackheath, the wives of many men were included in the pardons, having doubtless entertained the men assembled in arms.³

¹ Penshurst, at this time, belonged to Humphrey Stafford, Duke of Buckingham.

² One is John Septvans.

³ See Suss. Arch. Collections, vol. xviii. p. 18, where the pardons for that county are given.

In Sussex the Abbot of Battle and the Prior of Lewes participated in the rising; but in Kent the only names of ecclesiastics which appear are five, viz.

Clerke, John, Parson of the Church of Halgeste, in the Hundred of Hoo, in three pardons.

Changle, Thomas, of Yalding.

Spencer, Henry, Chaplain of Cowling.

Boteler, John, of Boughton Malherbe.

Penyngton, William, Chaplain of Osprynge.

And two "Holy-water clerks," being the persons who carried the holy water.

Among the occupations are some which mark the transition of the English language; thus Butchers, in most parishes, are in others called Fleshers; Cordwainer and Corvesor are used indiscriminately; Sonderer, otherwise Baker or New Baker; Ripiers, who carried the fish to London; Ferrou for farrier, and Putter for the carriers of wood to make charcoal. One notary and one scrivener, are here; one goldsmith, from Maidstone, and one trumpeter, from Holingbourne. The fullers and tanners are also here, and chapmen, haberdashers, drapers, mercers, tailors, and glovers; chandlers, and wax- and tallow-chandlers; grocers, spicers, and bakers; braziers, tinkers, sawyers, carpenters, masons, tilers, thatchers, turners, smiths, coopers, and saddlers; of barbers, more than a dozen; and brewers, innholders, vintners, and taverners; a solitary hackney-man, two grooms, and a servant. As might be anticipated in a maritime county, there are shipmen, watermen, and mariners. The manufactures are represented by clothmakers and weavers in Smarden and Pluckley. In many parishes the occupations are not given, but the main force consisted of husbandmen and labourers.

It is incorrectly stated by Holinshed that the men abruptly withdrew themselves and deserted Cade so

soon as they were shown pardons by the Chancellor (Kempe) and the Bishop of Winchester (Waynflete). The Chronicle of William of Wyrcester (p. 76 *et seq.*) gives the correct detail of the negotiation with Cade in the church of St. Margaret, Southwark, on the 6th July (the morning after the indecisive fight on London Bridge). Cade is designated John Mortimer in his pardon, which is dated on (Monday) the very day of the negotiations, as appears by the Patent Roll. On the same day are dated the pardons for John Robynson, William Bygge, Simon Morley, and John Swayn, of the city of Canterbury; but the remainder of the pardons bear date the following day (Tuesday), 7th July.

The number of names entered on the Patent Roll shows that accurate muster-rolls must have been kept; and the appearance of the same parish in different parts of the roll may indicate that the persons took part in the two different parts of the rising, for two parts there were.

Kent had been discontented in the early part of the year 1450. Thomas Cheyney, a fuller, of Canterbury, "calling himself an heremite cleped *Blew-berd*," had been taken on 9th February, at Canterbury, for raising a rebellion.¹ He was executed, and his head ordered to be sent to that city; but so great was his popularity, that the sheriffs of London had much difficulty in conveying it, "as unneth any persones durst nor wolde take upon hem the caridge,"² for doubt of their lives.

The Duke of Suffolk was taken off Dover on 2nd May, and killed. Lord Say, who lived at Knole, was lord-lieutenant, his son-in-law, William Crowmer, was sheriff, and the threats they held out against the "commons of Kent" brought matters to a crisis.

I give the several dates from the Chronicle of William of Wyrcester.

¹ Stow's Annals, p. 388.

² Ellis' Letters, ser. 2, vol. i. p. 115.

Whitsunday was on 24th May, and in that week the insurrection of the commons of Kent alone began. On 1st June, the camp was fixed at Blackheath; on Sunday, 7th, the king came to London, and on the 11th set out against the rebels. But they had decamped in the night, and retired to Sevenoaks. They were followed by two Staffords, who, with twenty-four followers, were killed at Sevenoaks. The king then went to Kenilworth. At the end of the month, Cade and his followers were joined by strong contingents from Sussex and Surrey. They made a second march to Blackheath. On Friday, 3rd July, they entered London city, and were met by a good number from Essex. On 4th, James de Fynes, Lord de Say, and his son-in-law, Crowmer, were beheaded at the Standard in Chepe. The citizens were pillaged, and on the night of Sunday, 5th July, they rose and fought Cade and his men on London Bridge.

On the morning of the 6th began the negotiations with Cade for "a charter of pardon from the king *for them all*;" but as a preliminary, Cade insisted and obtained the acceptance by the Chancellor and Bishop Waynfleet of the Bill of Petitions, which had been refused by the Privy Council. The complaints of the commons of Kent comprised fifteen heads; they are printed at length in Stow's Annals, p. 388, and the following are the particular grievances of the county:—

1. It is openly noysed that Kent should be destroyed with royall power, and made a wild forest, for the death of the Earl of Suffolke, of which the commons were never guilty.

And after complaining that the king lived on his commons, whilst his own revenues were held by other men; that the lords of the royal blood had been put out of his presence,¹ and other mean persons of lower

¹ In his own requests, Cade expressly names the exalted Duke of York

nature exalted to be of his Privy Council; that the stuff and purveyance for the king's household had not been paid for; that people were impeached and indicted to have grants obtained of their land; that divers poor people and commons of the realm, having perfect title to their land, had that title impeached and could not pursue their right; that the king's lands in France had been alienated; and requiring that the traitors who did it should be punished,—they say,—

8. Collectors of the 15 peny in Kent be greatly vexed and hurt in paying great sums of money in the Exchequer to sue out a writ called *Quorum nomina*, for allowance of the barons of the ports, which now is desired that hereafter in the lieu of the collectors the barons aforesaid may sue it out for their ease at their own costs.¹

And then, having complained of the excessive surety or bail taken by the sheriffs; and of feigned indictments against simple and poor people that use not hunting; and of the returns of amerciaments called “the Green Ware,” without summons or warning; they proceed:—

12. The ministers of the Court of Dover, in Kent, vex and arrest divers people through all the shire, out of castle-ward, passing bands (bounds) and liberty used of old time, by divers subtle and untrue means and actions falsely feined, taking great fee at their lust, in great hurt of the people in all their shire of Kent.

13. The people of the said shire of Kent may not have their free election in the choosing of knights of the shire, but letters have been sent from divers estates to the great rulers of all the country, the which enforceth their tenants and other people by force to choose other persons than the common will is.²

and the Dukes of Exceter, Buckenham, and Norfolk, as persons who ought to be on the Privy Council. (Stow, Annals, p. 389.)

¹ This was a writ to prove the exemption of the barons of the Cinque Ports resident within the county parishes from liability to contribute to the subsidies.

² The right of election for counties, which, like the present election of coroners, had been in *all* the freeholders, had been limited by an Act of

14. Whereas knights of the shire should choose the king's collectors indifferently, without any bribe-taking; they have sent now late to divers persons, notyfying to them to be collectors, whereupon gifts and bribes be taken, and so the collector's office is bought and sold extortionously at the knight's lust.¹

15. The people be sore vexed in costs and labour, called to the sessions of peace in the said shire, appearing from the farthest and uttermost parts of the west into the east, the which causeth to some men five days' journey; whereupon they desire the said appearance to be divided into two parts,² the which one part to appear in one place, another part in another place; in relieving of the grievance and intolerable labours and vexations of the said people.

Cade also charged Stephen Slegg, who was the sheriff in the previous year (1449), William Isle, who twice represented the county, and Robert Est, as being extortioners.

This is not the place to comment on the political importance of the demands made, nor can we now judge of the accuracy of the complaints; all that I need remark is the wide difference between them and the travestie of them given by Shakspeare.

On receiving the pardons, the main body of the commons dispersed, but Cade alleged that the pardons were insufficient without the sanction of Parliament (they are undoubtedly tested at Westminster, where the king was not), and persuaded a remnant of his followers to remain in arms. He retired with them to Rochester, having previously sent there the plate, jewels, and money, which had been taken during the rising. They failed in an attack upon Queenborough Castle, which

this reign, 8 Hen. VI. c. 7 (1430), to freeholders who could expend 40s., equivalent to £20 now.

¹ James Fynes and William Crowmer had been members, the latter in two parliaments.

² A like complaint of the inconvenience of the Sussex County Courts was remedied by Act 19 Hen. VII. c. 24, and they were to be held in West Sussex and East Sussex alternately.

was successfully defended by Sir Roger Chamberleyn¹ and two men. Geoffrey Kechyn and another, called "Capitaignes Boucher," were taken; and a third, William Parmenter, also calling himself "a captain of Kent," with other principals, were placed in the custody of Thomas Waryn, and then sent to the Castles of Windsor and Winchester.²

The followers quarrelled over the plunder. Cade fled about 11th July, and was taken at Heathfield, in Sussex, between that day and the 15th, when his dead body was brought to the Council. His head was stuck on London Bridge, and his body quartered. One quarter was sent to Blackheath; a second to Norwich, where the Bishop (Walter Harp) was supposed to favour the cause of the Duke of York; a third to Salisbury; and the fourth to Gloucester, the Abbot of St. Peter's there being also a favourer of the cause.³ Two followers of Cade were also beheaded; the quarters of one, Nicholas Jakes, were sent to Chichester, Rochester, Portsmouth, and Colchester; and those of John Rammesey, wine drawer, to Stamford, Coventry, Newbury, and Winchester,⁴ showing how widely spread were the opinions of the "commons of Kent." In their own county they were not perfectly quiet. Led on by Robert Poynings, uncle of the Countess of Northumberland, and Cade's "carver and sword-bearer," they caused a riot at Westerham, on 21st January, 1453; and they rode "in riotous-wise, and arraied in manor of warre," with sackes, coats of mail, and salettes, to North Cray and Fremingham, on 16th and 17th March, 1454.⁵

¹ As a reward he received a payment in the following year. See Devon's Issue Roll, p. 471.

² Ibid. 472.

³ Ellis' Letters, ser. 2, vol. i. p. 113.

⁴ Ibid. p. 115.

⁵ Rot. Parl. v. p. 247 *b* and 396. Among the Miscellanea of the Exchequer is a writ, dated 3rd June, 32 Hen. VI. (1454), commanding the Sheriff of Kent to seize the possessions of Robert Poynings, Esq., and

On Cade's flight, the Lord Chancellor Kempe went to Rochester, "for the tranquillity and good government of the King there, and also for the seizure of certain goods" which had been taken at Rochester.¹ There was £105. 15s. in cash and the goods, a list of which has been printed in Calendars and Inventories of Memoranda of the Treasury of the Exchequer (vol. ii. p. 217) produced £274. 8s. 4d., out of which £40 were given to the citizens and bailiffs of Rochester, to make the east gate of that city towards Canterbury.²

Johes Robynson, Wills Bygge, Simon Morley, et Johes Swayn, of the city of Canterbury.³

Ricus Yonge, de *West⁹ham*, yoman de hundē de WEST⁹HAM.

Wills Norden et Georgius Colier, constabular HUND⁹ DE TENAM; ac Willō Aytheherst, de *Tenam*, yoman.

Henr Appelton, de Bukwell in parochia de *Boghton Aluph*, gentilman; Nichus Godefelawe, de Boghton, yoman; Johes Lane, de parochia de Boghton, yoman; Thomas Sabyne, de parochia de Boghton, yoman; Wiffs Hely, de Boghton, husbondman; et Ricus Les, de parochia de Boghton, smith.

Johes Miller, de *Holyngbourne*, genalman; Wills Spert, de *Halden*, gentilman; Thomas Phelip, de *Ledes*, yoman; Johes Norton, de *Stapelherst*, yoman; Johes Morys, de *Holyngbourne*, laborer; Thomas Heron, de *Assheford*, laborer; Wiffs Miller, de *Wrotham*, pulter; Robtus Miller, de *Wrotham*, pulter; Wills Miller, de *Orpyngton*, husbondman; Ricus Miller, de *Cray l'e Marie*, pulter; and Thomas Miller, de *Orpyngton*, laborer; et alii.

Laurencius Miller, de *Lenham*; et Ricus Miller, de *Lynstede*, yoman.

Ricus Stydolf, de *Westerham*, mason; et Johes Atte Welle, de *Westerham*.

his sureties Thomas Hadres, William Rodley, of Dartford, yeoman, Richard Bolton, of the same place, yeoman, John Batall, of Stanfield Ryvers, Essex, Esq., John Bain, of Dartford, Esq., and his brother Edward Poynings, clerk, Master of Arundel College, forfeited under the Act of Parliament. It is curious that Robert Poynings' son, Sir Edward P., introduced the arbitrary "Poynings" law in Ireland.

¹ Devon's Issue Roll, p. 470.

² Acts of Council, vol. vi.

³ Membrane 13.

Johes Thorpe et Johes Wybern, constabularij HUNDR^o DE WROTEHAM; ac Thomas Arcall; ac omes alii hoēs infra hundred: pdam comorantes.

Johes Rowe, de parochia de *Boxle*; Jacobus Burbage; Johes Burbage; Henr Dore; Robtus Burbage; Will Rowe, de *Aylsford*; Edmundus Rowe, de *Aylsford*; et Hugo Wode, de *Rydyng*.

Ricus Forthe, de *Strode*, yoman; Will, Petur, et Johes Northe, de eadem.

Johes Colyer, de *Mersham*, et Ricus Rolf, de *Kyngyssnoth*, constabularii HUND DE LANGEBREGGE; et Thomas Chapman, et omes alii et singuli de hundredo pdco.

Wiffrs Symon, de *Godm^osham*, et Dionisius Bakke, de *Chilham*, constabularii HUNDR^o DE FELBERGH; Nicus Hylles, de *Godm^osham*, et omes alii et singuli de hundredo et villa predictis.

Wiffrs Foughyll, constabular HUNDR^o DE CHART, et Andreas Sprotte, et omes alii, etc.

Thomas Grymston, et Henr^o Crompe, constabular^o HUNDR DE MOLTON; et Stepus Waste, de *Stokebery*; ac omes alii, etc.

Johes Godyng, constabularius VILLE DE TUNBRIGGE, yoman; Johes Partriche, de *Tunbrige*, yoman; Johes Tyherst, senior, baker; Johes Huchyn, constabularius de HELDON, in parochia de *Tunbrige*; et Johes Kypping, constabularius DE LA SOUTH BURGH, yoman; ac omes alii, etc.

Laurencius Mongeham, de parochia de *Stone*; et Henr^o Dobyll, de *Wyttersham*; et omes alii, etc., infra HUNDR DE OXNEY comorantes.

Johes Cheyne, de *Estchirche in Insula de Shephey*, miles, et Johes Symond, de *Mynstre in Insula p^odca*, husbondman; ac omes alii, etc., infra insulam, etc.

Goodmannus Durbarre, et Wiffrs Atte Towne, constabularij HUNDR^o DE LANGPORTE; ac Thomas Bewesfrere, de parochia de *Hope*; ac omes, etc.

Stepus Hogge, de parochia de *Frithynden*, gentilman, et Stepus Norton, de *Chart juxta Sutton*, gentilman; ac omes alii de parochias pdcas.

Johes Goolde, de *Middilton*, gentilman; Ricus Grouehirst, de eadem, gentilman; et Johes Bunt yng, de eadem, gentilman.

Henr^o Cutbussh, de parochia de *Bydynden*, yoman; et

Laurencius Heansell, de eadem, yoman; et omes, etc., infra parochiam pdcam.

Johes Browne, ballivus VILLE DE FOLKSTON; ac omes singuli, etc.

Johes Ysaake, de *Putrykesbourne*, armig; et Wiffs Attewode, de *Brygge*, smyth; ac omes, etc., infra HUNDRED DE BRYGGE.

Thomas Stobynbury, constabularius HUNDR² DE LYTELFELD; Wiffs Hexstall, de *Estpekham*, armig; Ricus Erkenbold; et Ričus Bake, de *Estpekham*, yoman; ac omes alii, etc.

Thomas Grene, de *Melton iuxta Gravesende*; Thomas Ballyng, de *Gravesende*, husbondman; Thomas Plot, de *Gravesende*, yoman; et Johes Laurence, de *Melton iuxta Gravesende*, yoman.

Rics Maye, de *Saundryssh*, ac omes alii infra parochiam, etc.

Johes Clerke,¹ de *Boughton Menchouse*, yoman; Robtus Meryhome, Henr Hunt, ac Ricus Pikenden, ac omes, etc.

Johes Pastron, Johes Welles, Ricus Shymyng, de parochia de *Boxle*, ac omnes alii, etc.

Wills Fynne, de *Erith*, et Johes Michell, de eadem; ac omes alii, etc.

Johes Michell, de *Erith*, baker.

Ricus Gildeford, de *Haukeherst*, taillour; Henr Pelham, de *Haukeherst*, couper; Robtus Mercer, de *Haukeherst*, carpenter; Simon Pode, de *Haukeherst*, carpenter; et Johes Frenshe, de *Haukeherst*, laborer; ac omes alii, etc.

Robtus Bernes, de *Haukeherst*, gentilman; Johes Congeherst, de *Haukeherst*, gentilman; Johes Watte, de *Haukeherst*, yoman; Robtus Stonden, de *Haukeherst*, husbondman; Robtus Foutener, de *Haukeherst*, parish clerk; et Laurencius Heansell, de *Bylenden*, yoman; ac omes alii, etc.

Guido Attewode, de *Boughton Menchouse*, yoman; Wiffs Norton, de *Boughton Menchouse*; Thomas Atte Wode; Henr² Purs; et Guido Gusing, de parochia de *Chilham*; ac omes alii, etc.

Johes Roberd, de *Cranebroke*, senior, yoman; et Johes Roberd, de *Cranebroke*, junior, gentilman; ac omes alii, etc., de villam pdcam.

Johes Tothe, de parochia de *Chipstede*, junior; Stephus Tothe, de parochia de *Chipstede*; et Johes Tommes, de parochia de *Chepstede*; ac omes alii, etc.

¹ Memb. 12.

Thoma Changle, de flete, in com Lincoln, alias deus Thomas Changle, de *Ealdyng*, capellanus.

Thos Lawe, de Ealdyng, yoman; Robtus King, de Ealdyng, husbondman; Johes Kyrbill, de Ealdyng, halywaterclerk, et Riçus Kyrbill, de Ealdyng, laborer.

Wiſſs Edward, de *Sandeherst*, gentilman; Thos Heansell, de *Haukeherst*, yoman; Wills Bocher, de Haukeherst, smyth; et Thomas Mercer, de Haukeherst, repyer.

Riçus Sankee, de *Seele*, yoman, ac omes alii, etc.

Thomas Heth, de *Woolwiche*, gentilman; et Ricus Lovelace, de *Byngesdom*, gentilman; ac omes alii, etc.

Wills Morecok; Thos Morecok; Johes Morecok; et Thos Labe.

Robtus Neyte; Thos Bedmynton; Hugo Frere; et Wills Bedmynton, de parochia de *Harytesgam*; ac omes alii, etc.

Johes Burbage, de *Buxle*, husbondman; Nichus Faram, de eadem, husbondman; Riçus Sebris, de eadem, mason; Johes Joce, de eadem, mason; Ricus Manney, de *Maydeston*, mason; Robtus Burbage, de Boxle, laborer; Johes Faram; Wills Faram; et Johes Bance.

Robtus Nee, de parochia de *Heryotesham*; et Wiſſs Chamber; ac omes alii, etc.

Simon Shipton, de *Wolwiche*, yoman; Robtus Newdegate, de Woolwiche; et Wills Pegge, de Woolwiche; ac omes alii, etc.

Wills Northampton, de Wolwiche, gentilman; Thos Attewode, de Wolwiche, husbondman; Johes Edwyn, de Wolwiche, husbandman; Robtus Egell, de Wolwiche, boteman; Johes Frost, de Wolwiche, boteman; et Nichus Atte Gore, de Wolwiche, yoman; ac omes alii, etc.

Laurencius Engette, Johes Grene, Johes Cromber, Thomas Engette, Johes Grouchurst, Wills Colsall, Georgius Warman, Johe Barker, Thomas Clement, Guido Withors, Wills Lambert, et Johes Harry, de parochia de *Ewade*, husbondmen; ac omes, etc.

Thomas Sprener, de *Melton iuxta Gravesende*; Thomas Grene, de eadem; Thomas Wattys, de eadem, yoman; Johes Page, de eadem, yoman; Johes Hammes, de eadem, barbour; Robtus Hall, de eadem, laborer; Johes Rede, de eadem, wat^rman; Wiſſs Flour, de Gravesende, chaundeler; Thomas State, de Gravesende, yoman; Thomas Est, de Gravesende, haburdassher; Johes Baker, de Gravesende, husbondman;

Wiffs Shene, de Gravesende, wat^oman ; et Wiffs Fill, de Gravesende, carpenter.

Thomas Appuldurfeld, de *Feversham*, armig ; ac omes alii, etc.

Johes Clerke, de *Kenordyngton*, husbondman ; Thomas Bennet ; Johes Spaget ; Ricus Bolte, cordewaner ; Stephus atte hille, husbondman ; Johes Miller, husbandman ; Ricus Andrewe, carpynter ; Johes Lyggand, carpenter ; Ricus Judde, husbondman ; Ricus Miller, cordewaner ; Wills Whiton, fyssher ; Ricus atte Rygge, husbondman ; Wills atte Reche, cordewaner, et Johes Lucas, husbondman.

Bernardus Cabell, de *Chesylherst*, husbondman, et Johes Cabell, husbondman.

Johes Stanmer, de *Feversham*, yoman, *alias* dñs Johes Davy, de eadem villa, yoman ; cum hoies ville pdce.

Barthus Bourne, de *Dodyngton* ; Johes Eytherst, de *Lyndestede* ; Ricus Miller, de *Lyndestede* ; Laurencius Roger, de *Lyndestede* ; Johes Cotyng, de eadem ; Riçus Bedyll, de eadem ; Johes Dene, de eadem ; Adam Grenestrete, de eadem ; Wiffs Marlere, de eadem, et Thomas Best, de eadem.

Wills Jole, de *Sundrysshe*.

Wiffs Mareys, de parochia de *Preston juxta Feuersham*, armig ; ac omes alii, etc.

Waltus Waleys, de parochia de *Penshurst*, yoman ; Wills Warde, de parochia de *Habyr*, yoman, constabular^o HUNDRED DE SOM^oDEN ; Thomas Wilbore, de parochia de *Chiddynston* ; Johes Clerk, de parochia de *Hebyr*, yoman ; Johes Broker, de parochia de *Chiddynston*, yoman ; Rog^ous atte Wode, de parochia de *Chiddynston*, yoman ; Johes Wodgate, de parochia de *Chiddynston*, yoman ; Wiffs Ware, de parochia de *Chiddynston*, yoman ; Riçus Clerk, de parochia de *Chiddynston*, yoman ; Wiffs Clerk, de parochia de *Chiddynston*, yoman ; Johes Coret, de parochia de *Hebyr*, et Wills Wymbyll, de parochia de *Hebyr*, yoman ; ac omes alii, etc.

Wills Edward, de *Sandeherst*, armig ; Thomas White, de *Sandeherst*, husbondman, et Robbtus Bernes, de *Haukhirst*, gentylman ;¹ ac omes alii, etc.

Laurencius Pakke et Rob^{tus} Rows, ac omes alij infra parochiam de *Barmyage*, ac Johes Tutsam, Riçus Tutsam, Johes Reve, et Wills Hunt ; ac omes alii infra parochiam de *Westfarlegh* ; Stephus Crouche, ac omes alii infra parochiam de

¹ See *ante*, pp. 246, 247.

Watryng; Ricus Baker, ac omes alii infra parochiam de *Peckham*; necnon Johes Crompe, Johes Pakke, senior, Johes Pakke, junior, Johes Myller, Johes Southland, Wills Gore, Johes Gore, Wills Kenelyn, Johes Reve, Johes Porter, Johes Clyffe, Thomas Nasshe, et Johes Hamond, ac omnes, etc.

Thos. Hunte, et Phus Castell, constabular HUNDR^o DE FOLKESTON; ac Johes Grenford, Wills Fyneux, et Nichus Everynge, ac omes alii, etc.

Johes Halke, constabular HUND DE PETHAM; ac Thos. Bowll, et Simon Court; ac omes alii, etc.

Ricus King, de *Cowlyng*, husbondman, constabular de HUND DE SHANNILL; Henry Spencer, capellanus ecclie de Cowling; Johes Pardour, de eadem; et Rogers Smyth, de eadem, husbondman, ac omes alii, etc.

Robtus Ball, de *Thornham*, gentilman; Wills Lorde, de *Berghstede*, bocher; Hermanus Pokill, de *Berghstede*, draper; Johes Wenyall, de *Berghstede*, ripier; Johes Reynold, de *Ledys*, bocher; Thos. Reynold, de *Ledys*, bocher; Robtus Wodegate, de *Ledys*, husbondman; Wills Everynden, de *Ledys*, husbondman; Georgius Lovynden, de *Holyngbourne*, fuller; Ricus Peny, de *Holyngbourne*, laborer; Johes Adam, de *Holyngbourne*, corveser; Johes Ayot, de *Holyngbourne*, senior, husbondman; Johes Broke, de *Holyngbourne*, husbondman; Johes Lambe, de *Holyngbourne*, husbondman; Wills Fox, de *Holyngbourne*, laborer; Robtus Gybbys, de *Holyngbourne*, draper; Wills Breche, de *Holyngbourne*, draper; Robtus atte Wode, de *Holyngbourne*, husbondman; Robtus Paulyn, de *Holyngbourne*, laborer; Gilbtus Bresyng, de *Holyngbourne*, laborer; Robtus Isowede, de *Holyngbourne*, laborer; Johes Tayllour, de *Holyngbourne*, husbondman; Thomas Charlys, de *Holyngbourne*, laborer; Thomas Halk, de *Holyngbourne*, fuller; et Simon Halk, de *Holyngbourne*, carpenter; ac omes alii, etc.

Rog^ous Stede, de *Heryettesham*, repyer.

Johes Mason, de *Maydeston*, wexchaundler.

Johes Cattys, de *Wroteham*, gentylman; Thomas Chapman, de eadem, yoman; Johes Barbour, de eadem, yoman; Johes Whyte, de eadem, yoman; Stephus Wrange, de eadem, yoman; Ricus Benet, de eadem, yoman; Johes at Well, de eadem, yoman; Johes Sexteyn, de eadem, yoman; Thomas Wryght, de eadem, yoman; Thomas Arcell, de eadem, yoman;

Johes Hunte, de eadem, yoman, et Johes Palgrave, de eadem, yoman.

Witts Belde, de *Cantuar*, gentilman.

Johes Penwortham, de *Cantuar*, gentilman.

Thomas Andrewe, de *Dertford*, sondeer; *alias* baker, *alias* newbaker.¹

Thomas Stokyngbury, smyth; Thomas Partiche, smyth; John Roos, husbondman; Wills Knocher, de *Estpekham*, smyth.

Johes Clerk, psona *ecclie de Halgeste*, in HUND^o DE HES;² Stephus Nelyr et Johes Turner, constabularij de ejusdem hundr; ac omes alii, etc.

Rogus Cheseman, de Eltham, et Edmundus Ryculff, de Lee, constabularius HUND^o DE BLAKEHETH; ac omes alii, etc.

Thomas Pympe, de parochia *Omi Scor*, infra HUND^o DE HOO, et Johes Turnour, constabularius hund p̄dci; ac omes alii, etc., infra villam.

Thomas atte Wode, de *Northflete*, smyth; Riçus Longfeld, de eadem, senior, husbondman; Ricus Somer, de eadem, fyssher; Johes Addys, de eadem, laborer; Witts Parke, de eadem, carpenter; Thomas Flucke, de eadem, husbondman; Ricus Hauker, de eadem, husbondman; Johes Hull, de eadem, husbondman; Witts Edwyn, de eadem, haly waterclerk; Wills Ingram, de eadem, husbondman; Danielus Longfeld, de eadem, husbondman; Simon Letot, de eadem, husbondman; Ricus Letot, de eadem, notery; Riçus Gervays, de eadem, husbondman; Witts de Roy, de eadem, husbondman; Witts Kyng, de eadem, husbondman; Johes Garred, de eadem, husbondman; Thomas Gold, de eadem, husbondman; Witts Smyth, de eadem, husbondman; Johes Leveshot, de eadem, husbondman; Stephus Shadde, de eadem, husbondman; Henr^o Dyker, de eadem, laborer; Ricus Goldger, de eadem, laborer; Ricus Tyler, de eadem, tyler; Riçus Longvyle, de eadem, junior, husbondman; Johes Harlowe, de eadem, husbondman; Robtus Harlowe, de eadem, husbondman; Johes Dyne, de eadem, husbondman; Johes Pers, de eadem, husbondman; et Johes Wright, de eadem, husbondman.

Johes Martyn, de *Dertford*, gentilman; *alias* Johes Martyn nup de *Quaplod in Com Lincoln*, gentilman; Wills Rotheley, de

¹ See *post*, p. 271.

² Membrane 11.

Dertford, yoman; Rog^sus Rotheley, de eadem, yoman; Robtus Aleyn, de eadem, gentilman; et Walterus Groveherst, de eadem, gentilman.

Johes Rowe, of *Boxle*, gentilman; Robtus Rowe, of *Aillsford*, gentilman; Wills Rowe, of *Aillsford*, gentilman; Robtus Rowe, of *Aillesford*, gentilman; Henry Dore, de *Boxle*; Jacobus Burbage, de *Boxle*; Johes Burbage, de *Boxle*; Robtus Burbage, de *Boxle*, yoman; et Hugo Wode, de *Ealdyng*, gentilman; ac omes alii, etc.

Robtus Somerey, de *Stapulherst*, gentilman; Stepñus Hern-den, de eadem, husbondman; Johes Exherst, de eadem, husbondman; Thomas Enghurst, de eadem, barbour; Johes Berman, de eadem, husbondman; Thomas . . . ,¹ de eadem, laborer; Thomas Benryng, de eadem, husbondman; et Ricus Moys, de eadem, husbondman; ac omnibus, etc.

Wills Lovelace, alias Lovelas, de Merton, in com. Surr., alias deus Wills nup., de *Betrysden*, gentilman.

Johes Burwessh, de *Guyfford*, yoman.

Johes Elys, de Oatham, gentilman; Wills Colyn, de eadem, yoman; Thomas ate Hache, de eadem, bocher; Wastus Lovell, de parochia de *Langle*, yoman.

Rog. Yong, de HUNDR DE WESTRAM.

Ric^sus Sabyn, constabularius HUNDR DE MADESTON; Johes Colney, de eadem; Wills Bele, de eadem.

Wills Symond et Dionisius Bak, constabular. HUNDR DE FELBERGH²; ac omes alii, etc.

Wills Kayem, alias d^ocus Roule, de parochia de *Bradgare*; Henr Crumpe, de eadem; Pñus Sayer, de eadem; Elias Bocher, de eadem; Wills Frensh, de eadem; Thomas Breggeham, de eadem; Elias Breggeham, de eadem; Thomas Drury, de eadem; Robtus Drury, de eadem; Wills Grenhell, de eadem; Elias Grenhell, de eadem; Johes Couper, de eadem; Johes Castell, de eadem; Will's Heneger, de eadem; Ricus Canon, de eadem; Wills Lather, de eadem; et Petrus Premier, de eadem.

Ricus Yonge, de *Westerham*.

Roñus Twysden, de *Magna Chart*, gentilman; et Johes Gybbes, de eadem, gentilman.

Wills Chaundellar et Ricus Carter, constabularij HUNDR DE COTESHECHE; ac omes et singuli, etc.

¹ *Sic.*

² See *ante*, p. 245.

Dionisius Buttur et Johes Simons, constabularij HUNDR DE FELBAROGH; Wills Petet, Barthus Dryland, Robtus Godebarn, et Nichus Hylles;¹ ac omes alii, etc.

Johes Fysshier, de *Maydeston*, carpenter; Johes Bird, de *Clynton*; Jacobus Hope, de *Wyngham*, gentilman; ac Johes Oxenden, de *Wyngham*, gentilman; ac Jacobus Cluterynden et Ricus Pury, constabularii de HUNDR DE WYNGHAM; ac omes, etc.

Wills Haute, armig., Ricus Mynot, et Johes Denne, ac omes, etc., infra HUNDR DE KYNGHANFORD.

Waltus Waleys et Wills Warde, constabularij HUNDR DE SOM²DEN;² Thomas Wilbore, de *parochia de Chiddyingston*, yoman; Johes Broker, de eadem, yoman; Rog^{us} Atte Wode, de eadem, yoman; Johes Wodgate, de eadem, yoman; Wills Ware, de eadem, yoman; Ricus Clerk, de eadem, yoman; Wills Clerk, de eadem, yoman; Wills Hunt, de eadem, yoman; Johes Clerk, de *parochia de Hebyr*, yoman; Johes Coret, de eadem, yoman; et Wills Wymbyll, de eadem, yoman; ac omnes, etc.

Simon Benet et Thomas Mantell, constabular HUNDR DE BOUGHTON ATTE BLENNE; et Thomas Burgeys, et Robtus Drylond; ac omes, etc.

Ricus Walshe et Bernardus Cabell, constabularij HUNDR DE ROKESLE, ac Johes Mager, P^{ius} atte Welle, Ricus Mannard, Johes Bertlotte, et Wills Rowe, ac omes, etc.

Johes Mortymer, ac Wills Foule, de *Westwykham*, husbondman; Thomas Wodeward, de *Westwykham*, husbondman; Wills Aleyn, de *Westwykham*, husbondman; et Thomas Stone, de *parochia de Westwykham*, husbondman; ac ombs alii, etc.

Hugo Chedyngston, de *Sundrisshe*; Johes Style, de *parochia de Sundrisshe*; et Thomas Baker, de eadem, clerk; ac omes alii, etc.

Thomas Henere; Robtus Seylyard; Johes Seylyerd; Johes Josewey; Thomas Chaunceler; Johes Bardog; Wills Colman; Johes Slyghtre; Ricus Oughtrede; Rog^{us} Wodewarde; Ricus Swon; Johes Swon, fil^{ius} ejus; Johes Fychet; Ricus Fychet; Ricus Ware; Johes Chepstede, junior; Thomas Chelscombe; Wills Twyford; Johes Rouland; et Johes Ganyll; ac omes, etc.

Wills Menhome; Johes Whillok; Johes Levenorth, de

¹ See *ante*, pp. 245, 251, and *post*, p. 256. ² See *ante*, p. 248.

Broughton Menchouse; Johes Herynden et Johes Tempylmarche; ac omes, etc.

Thomas Reme, de *Renham*, gentilman.

Petrus Pedynden, de *Borden*, husbondman; et Ricus Capron, de eadem, husbondman; ac omes, etc.

Johes Richyngood, de *Kingesloue infra Insula de Thanet*; ac omes, etc.

Thomas Welde, constabularius¹ *VILLE DE BRASTEDE et LUCATE DE TUNBRIGGE*; Robtus Parker; Thomas Crowe; Johes Harry; Nichus Dore; Ricus Harry; Robtus Harry; Georgius Jurdayn; Wills atte Meer; Thomas Lake; Johes Brightrede; Johes Swan, drover; et Ricus Pakke; ac omes alii, etc.

Robtus Clyfton, de parochia de *Clyfton*, gentilman; Johes Boches Bocher, de *Barmesey*, yoman; Ricus Martyndale, yoman; et Ricus Broun, de eadem, yoman.

Johes Nassh, de *Merden*, yoman; Johes Rolf, de eadem, yoman; ac omes, etc.

Wills Norton, de parochia de *Sheldwyche*, gentilman; ac omes, etc.

Johes Fraunceys, subconstabularius de *Estgate*, in parochia *S^{ci} Nichi in suburbio de ROUCHESTRE*; ac omes, etc.

Johes Gerold, de parochia *Sce Margarete in suburbio de Rouchestre*, husbondman; ac omes, etc.

Johes Bornman, Johes fit Johis Bornman, Ricus Bornman, Stephus Bornman, et Jacobus Bornman, de parochia de *Boughton Menchouse*; ac omes alii, etc.

Robtus Mertyn, de *Wye*; Johes Rose; Wills London; Thomas Wyllok, et Johes Ourle, de *Wye*; ac omes, etc.

Johes Godyng, de *Estpekham*, yoman; Johes Esthawe, de *Estpekham*, yoman; Robtus Colyn, de *Estpekham*, smyth; et Wills Godyng, de *Estpekham*, yoman, constabularij *HUND DE LYTTELFELD*; ac omes, etc.

Ricus Forde, de parochia de *Penseherst*, gentilman; ac omes, etc.

Johes Kyrkewode, Ricus Byrdemere, et Johes Tysedale.

Johes Gulby, de *Dertford*; Robtus Barbour, de eadem; Johes Herde, de eadem; Johes Freman, de eadem; Johes de Dene, de eadem; et Henr Serman, de eadem, ac omes, etc., de *Stoneham Mershstrete*, et *Stoneheld*, ac de parochia de *Dertford*.

Nichus Champencys, Ricus Edlyn, Johes atte Nobyn,

¹ Membrane 10.

Thomas Gylbe, Johes Mason, Johes Stokke, Johes Sandyr, Ricus Frere, Simon Boydon, Ricus Alcote, Johes Coryour, Thomas Hencote senior, Thomas Hencote junior, Thomas atte Nobyn, Johes Alcote, Johes North, Johes Ely, Wills Copedyll, Henr Tenaker, Thomas Couper senior, Johes Adam, Thomas Kyng, Johes Capell, Johes Archer, Johes Thomson, Wills Yonge, Ricus Auncell, Johes Clerk, Ricus Harbard, Gilbtus Harbard, Wills Harbard, Wills Carpynter, Johes Abbote, Ricus Jordan, Roġus Couper, Gerardus Wangystell, Johes Nebman, Johes Herte, Wills Palmer, et Thomas Pesok, de parochia de *Strode*, ac omes, etc.

Thomas Deynold, de *Cantuar*; Johes Garwynton, Wills Bele, Roġus Toly, Ricus Carpenter, Ricus Upton, Johes Bate, et Johes Beke, de eadem, ac omes alii et singuli, de eadem civitate.

Wills Lorde, de *Berstede*, bocher, Hermanus Pokell, de eadem, draper; Simon Meller, de eadem, mason; Robtus Heynes, de eadem, husbondman; Phus Joce, de eadem, carpenter, Johes Coker, de eadem, husbondman; Roġus Edward, de eadem, husbondman; Wills Carter, de eadem, yoman; Henr Brēwer, de eadem, mason; Andreas Gardener, de eadem, mason; Simon Coker, de eadem, mason; Robtus Style, de eadem, mason; Thomas Rokesacre, de eadem, mason; Ricus Clerk, de eadem, barbour; Johes William, de eadem, webbe; et Johes Hopkyn, de eadem, husbondman.

Johes Chamberleyn, alias Johes Smethcote, de *Estfarle*, gentilman.

Johes Boteler, de *Boughton Malherbe*, cticus; Wills Clerk, de eadem, senior, husbondman; Wills Clerk, de eadem, junior, husbondman; Henr Swerenden, de eadem; Thomas Wylkyns, de eadem, laborer; Johes Allyn, de eadem, husbondman; Johes Hooker, de eadem, husbondman; Johes Coveney, de eadem, laborer; Johes Tyler, de eadem, tyler; Henr Cook, de eadem, wever; Galfrid Brodeway, laborer; Johes Sednour, de eadem, husbondman; Wills Stonehous, de eadem, husbondman; Johes Stonehous, de eadem, husbondman; Johes Stenhous, de eadem, sexteyn; Johes Hasylwode, de eadem, husbondman; et Johes Rogger, de eadem, husbondman, ac omes, etc.

Ričus Coyff, de *Speldehurst*, husbondman; Johes Crudde, de eadem, yoman; Ričus Crudde, de *Penshurst*, yoman; et Nichus Crundewell, de eadem, yoman.

Walfus Waleys, de *Penshurst*, yoman; Thomas Berkele, de eadem, yoman; Wills Peyntour, de *Chidyingston*, husbondman; Johes Basset, de eadem, yoman; Wills Harlakenden, de *Wodechurche*, yoman; Wills Clerk, de eadem, yoman; et Alanus Engeham, de eadem, yoman.

Walfus Langley, de HUNDR DE ESTRY, gentilman, ac omes, etc.

Wills Wynterbourne, de *Esthetisford*, alias de *Wy*, gentilman; et Ricus Dodyston, de *Westwelle*.

Johes Gerveys, de parochia de *Zele*.

Johes Stone, junior, gentilman, ac omes, etc.

Thomas Swyst, de *Sandewico*, yoman; et Thomas Stokes, yoman.

Johes Cosyn, de *Cantuar*, grocer.

Thomas Chelscombe, de *Sundrysshe*.

Thomas Reculuer, constabularius HUND DE CHATEHAM;¹ Wills Covler, Johes Covler, Ricus Covler, Hamo Covler, Thomas Friday, Wills Thorp senior, Johes Thorp senior, Johes Thorp junior, Johes Smyth, Thomas Smyth, Rogus atte Wode, Wills Warner, Thomas Warner, Johes Symcok, Ricus Lorkyn, Ricus Cristyan, Rogus Roper, Stephus Cok, Johes Cok, Simon Couper, Robtus Wodear, Ricus Bedmynton, Wills Short, Wills Neel junior, Johes Pylcher, Wills Pylcher, Johes Chapman, Ricus Marchall, Johes Wolf, Wills Neel senior, Johes Tomme, Thomas Pery senior, Thomas Pery junior, Johes Pery, bocher, Hamo Long, Wills Long, Johes Pylcher, Robtus Chelfeld, Ricus Long, Thomas Long, ac Robtus Godfray, constabularius HUNDR: DE GYLLYNHAM; Johes Broun, Thomas Pery, Johes Mylle, Wills Mylle, Johes Dygon, Johes Keneworth, Michael Gybbe, Johes Harry, Thomas Davy, Thomas Acton, Johes Ram, Wills Grenehill senior, Ricus Rogger, Wills Grenehill junior, Ricus Bery, et Stephus Heyward, bocher, de paroch. de *Chatteham*, *Gillyngham*, et *Grean*.

Wills Pery, de parochia de *Gyllyngham*, ac omes, etc.

Thos Edolff, de *Westmallyng*, yoman, ac omes alii, etc.

Johes Shepherd, de *Bromley*, husbondman; et Wills Shepherd, de *Bromley*, husbondman.

Wills Harry, de *Est Gate*, in parochia *Sei Nichi*, in suburbio de *Rouchestre*, bruer, ac omes, etc.

Johes Drury, de *Sandewico*, armig.

¹ Membrane 9.

Johes Fyneux, armig.

Wills Symond et Dionisius Bak, constabular HUND DE FEL-BERGH,¹ ac omes, etc.

Johes Duke, Jacobus atte Forde, Johes Smythest senior, Johes Rolf, Johes Bechyng, Robtus Kent, Johes Badisden, Ricus Bechyng, et Stephus Capell, de *Haukeherst*, ac omibs, etc.

Johes Paston, de *Sandewico*, bocher.

Phus Aleysaunder, Robtus Davie, Robtus Rose, Thomas Fytyll, Wills Caweston, Ricus Pykenote, Johes Dawe, Johes Umfrey, Robtus Langley, Ricus Langley, Thomas Dawe, Johes Halston, Johes Kyng, Johes Beton, Wills Plege, Johes Aylemer, Johes Whode, Radus Mason, et Johes John, seruante-laugge, de parochia de *Bekynham*.

Thomas Thornton, de *Gravesend*, hakeneyman; et Wills Fyll, de eadem, carpenter.

Robtus Berlund, de *Reynham*, yoman; Ricus Renell, de eadem, husbondman; Johes Chaunterell, de eadem, husbondman; Stephus Aymer, de eadem, husbondman; Johes Symond, de eadem, husbondman; Johes Walware, de eadem, husbondman; Wills Christian, de eadem, husbondman; et Wills Whitle, de eadem, husbondman.

Robtus Cheseman, et Thomas Cheseman, de *Estgrenewich*, ac omes, etc.

Simon Vaghen, de *Gravesend*, gentilman; Ricus Plotte, de *Gravesend*, shipman; Johes Mersshe, de *Gravesend*, maryner; Johes Plotte, de *Gravesende*, maryner; Thomas Hardy, de *Gravesende*, maryner; Thomas Plotte, de *Gravesend*, junior, maryner; Wills Hardy, de *Gravesende*, maryner; Wills Wodestocke, de *Gravesend*, maryner; Johes Feryer, de *Gravesende*, bargeman; et Thomas Gwyn, de *Gravesende*, maryner, ac omes, etc.

Johes Bokynfold, de *Upcherch*, yoman; Johes Clement, de *Newenton*, husbondman; et Thomas Longe, de *Newynton*, husbondman.

Wills Selowe, de *Cantuar*, mercer; et Johes Fermyngham, de *Cantuar*, bocher.

Johes Baker, de *Maydeston*, yoman.

Johes Ildergate, de *Sandewich*, armig.

Edmundus Chertesey, de *Rouchestre*, gentilman; et Ricus Culpepyr, nup de *Estfarleggh*, gentilman.

¹ See *ante*, pp. 245, 251, 252.

Thomas Cardon, de *Olyve*, gent; Johes Cardon, de eadem, gent; Laurencius Mundryn, de eadem, shipman; Ricus Mepham, de eadem, chaundeler; et Thomas Mepham, de eadem, husbondman.

Waltus Crepegge, de *Denton*, husbondman; et Johes Martyn, de *Chalk*, husbondman.

Johes Potkyn, de *Chalke*, senior, husbondman; et Johes Potkyn, de eadem, junior, husbondman.

Johes Cokke, de Borstall, in parochia de *Plumstede*, yoman; et Thomas Pycard, de parochia de *Grehithe*, yoman, constabularii HUNDR DE LYTLE et LESON, ac omes, etc.

Stephus Colvey, de *Maydeston*, goldsmyth.

Wills Fynche, de *Maydeston*, taillour, ac omes, etc.

Wills Ederiche, de *Estgrenewich*, et Alicia, ux⁹ ejus; Rogus Cokke, de *Estgrenewiche*; Henr Newerk, de *Estgrenewiche*, et Margareta, ux⁹ ejus; Johes Brambill, de *Estgrenewiche*, et Alicia, ux ejus.

Ricus Snelgorre, de *Boxley*, yoman, ac omes, etc.

Johes Newenham, de *Strode*, yoman;¹ et Ricus Broke, de *Rouchestre*, yoman, ac omes.

Robtus Chamberleyn, de *Merworth*; et Johes Chamberleyn, de parochia de *Lose*.

Robtus Est, de *Maydeston*, gentilman.

Jacobus Scheterynden et Johes Pery, constabularii de HUNDR: de WYNGHAM, ac Johes Oxenden et Wills Donyngton, ac omes, etc.

Wills Wodhell, constabular HUNDR de PRESTON, ac Johes Halle, et Johes Rekedon, et omes, etc.

Ricus Hervy et Johes Downe, constabular de HUND. DE ESTRY, ac Johes Chamberleyn, et Thomas Roger, ac omes, etc.

Johes Cokke, de Borstall, in parochia de *Plumstede*, yoman; Johes Crabbe, de Borstall, in parochia de *Plumstede*, yoman; Radus Yonge, de Borstall, yoman; Robtus Ricard, de parochia de *Plumstede*, maryner; Edmundus atte Wode, de parochia de *Erehithe*, yoman; Thomas Jonson, Ricus Jonson, Rogus Rodley, Johes Forger, Johes Hychecok, Johes Bolton, de parochia de *Erehithe*; Robtus Drynker, de parochia de *Plumstede*; et Galfrus Herte, de *Creyford*, yoman.

Johes Crouche, de *Milton*, husbondman; et Wills Bull, de eadem, husbondman.

¹ Membrane 8.

Ricus Adam, de *parva Charte*, yoman.

Thomas Ballard, de parochia de *Estgrenewyche*, armig; Johes Shamele, Wills More, Johes Sharpe, Wills Hanford, Robtus Aytan, Robtus Turnour, et Johes Pyers, de eadem parochia; ac Ricus Hunte, de parochia de *Charteham*; Thomas Andrewew, de eadem; Thomas Lynsey, de eadem; Thomas Osmere, de *Est Sutton*; Plus Joce, de parochia de *Melton*; et Adam Boke, de *Petham*.

Jacobus Grandon et Thomas Boorne, de parochia de *Hithe*.

Wills Serle, de parochia de *Chevenyng* de Chepested, yoman; et Wills Sharp, de eadem parochia, yoman.

Johes Notyngham, de parochia de *Herne*, yoman; et Johes Att Chirch, alias Cherch, de eadem parochia, yoman.

Robtus Payn, de *Bekenam*, husbondman;¹ et Andreas Wodecok, de *Bromley*, husbondman, constabularij HUND DE BROMLEY et BEKENAM.

Johes Bolt, de parochia de *Pensherst*,² husbondman; John Hert, husbondman; Johes Grombrigge, husb, Thomas Godeyere, husb;³ Waltus Beche, de *Pensherst*, senior, husb; Nichus Crondewell, husb, Johes Roger, husb, Johes Holt, husb, Nichus Holt, husb, Waltus Beche, husb, Waltus Waleys, yoman, Ricus Hamond, bocher, Johes Bulman, gent,⁴ Thomas Fuller, husb, Ricus Fuller, husb, de *Penherst*; Johes Wodgate, de *Chedyngstone*, senior, husb; Johes Wodgate junior, husb, Johes Sleyghter, husb, Johes Basset, de *Chedyngstone*, husbondman; Johes Crudde, de *Speldherst*, husbondman; Wills Crudde, de *Speldhurst*, husb; et Wills Sakery, de *Speldherst*, ac omes alii, etc.

Johes Norton, Thomas Sadyer, Johes Grangeman, Thomas Godwat, Wills Peny, Petrus Breggeham, Ricus Tomlyn, Thos Dane, Wills Dylot, Ricus Storey, Wills Storey, Elias Ladde, Wills Louce, Henr Storey, Robtus Strangbowe senior, Waltus Coke, Elias Loosmyth, Wills Catelot, Robtus Loosmyth, Johes Loosmyth senior, Wills Strangbowe, Wills Barlyng, Benedeus Geley, Johes Holman senior, Johes Coke, Johes Tomlyn, Henr Rere, Ricus Caperon, Robtus Strangbowe junior, Johes Strangbowe, Johes Lowe, Robtus Lowe, Johes Loo-

¹ Membrane 7.

² See *ante*, p. 255.

³ Where husb. is printed, the word is at length in the original.

⁴ So also gent.

smyth junior, Henr Kyryell, Ricus Roger, Thomas Tomlyn, Johes Bedell, Petrus Petynden, Wills Mowere, Wills Jan, Johes Lydsyng, Thomas Clenche, Barthus Plotte, Johes Lovedere, Thomas Heystede, Robtus Knyght, Johes Gygman, et Stephus Dane, de parochia de *Borden*, ac omes, etc.

Robtus Rogger, de *Lenham*, yoman; Johes Colyare, yoman; Johes Bysshop, de eadem, tailour; Johes Bakere, de eadem, bakere; Wills Gybbe, de eadem, tanner; Johes Gybbe, de eadem, tanner; et Safrus Couper, de eadem, cowper, ac omes, etc.

Ricus Kelshale, de *Holyngbourne*, husbondman; Johes Tylare, de eadem, taillour; et Wills Filcote, de eadem, husbondman.

Robtus Perry, trumpet.

Thomas Tragosse, de *Boughley*, gent.

Wills Odyerne, de *Wittresham*, in hundr: de Oxene, gent; Jacobus Glover, yoman; Laurencius Taillour, yoman; Wills Budde, yoman; Agustinus Potyn, yoman; Wills Aas, yoman; Wills Austyn, yoman; Johes Jolyf, husb; Johes Mapysden, yoman; Jacobus Mapysden, yoman; Wills Browenyng, husb; Jacobus Huberd, yoman; Thomas Godfrey, yoman; Johes Warner, husbondman; Johes Potyn, yoman; Johes Glover, yoman; Wills Morleyn, husb; Wills Potyn, husb; Johes Chyboll, husb; Stephus Boydon, husb; et Stephus Sexteyn, de *Wittresham*, husbondman.

Nichus Trendeherst, de parochia de *Lyde*, yoman.

Thomas Harry, de *Halden*, draper; Wills Fox, de *Mersham*, yoman.

Johes Hughlyn, de *Ossechurche*, yoman; Johes Kempe, de *Romaney*, yoman; Ricus Heed, de *Snergate*, yoman; Thomas Heed, de eadem; et Johes Adam, de *Brokelond*, wever.

Johes Osbern, de *Trottescliff*, yoman; Ricus Chaunceler, de eadem, husbondman; Johes Tencere, de eadem, husbondman; Robtus Symcok, de eadem, husbondman; Ricus Rous, de eadem, husb; Johes Cheseman, de eadem, taillour; Thomas Osbern, de eadem, laborer; et Johes William, de eadem, husbondman, ac omes, etc.

Henr Cutbusshe, de *Bedynden*, yoman qui se sicut p̄fert eidem Johi Mortymer.

Johes Baker, de *Maydeston*, yoman qui se sicut p̄fect eidem Johi Mortymer.

Thomas Smyth, de *Ealdyng*, yoman; Johes Goldsmyth, de

Ealding, yoman; et Wills Goldsmyth, de *Hincton*, yoman, ac omes, etc.

Johes Burgoyne, qui se sicut p̄fert eidem Johi Mortymer.

Johes Pepysham, de *Goodherst*, laborer; Robtus Rye, de *Coumbewell*, laborer; Johes Tregge, de *Flemynwell*, husb; Johes Courthope, de *Flemynwell*, husb; Robtus Jurdan, de *Hangherst*, husbondman; Thomas Jurdan, de *Goodherst*, husb; Wills Mugge, de *Goodherste*, rypyer; Thomas Mugge, de *Goodherst*, rypyer; Johes Norton, de *Goodherst*, corveser; Rogus Smyth, de *Goodherst*, laborer; Sphus Berworth, de *Goodherst*, laborer; et Thome Berworth, de *Goodherst*, yoman, ac omes, etc.

Johes Mulling, de *Cantuar*; Johes Wynter, de *Cantuar*; Thomas Proude, de *Cantuar*; Wills Sellowe, de *Cantuar*, mercer; Johes Harnhill, de *Cantuar*; Radus Sutton, Johes Sutton, Ricus Barnes, de *Cantuar*, brasyer; et Wills Bryan, ac omes, etc.

Rogus Ridlee, de *Cantuar*, gent; Johes Newerk; Ricus Pargate, de *Cantuar*; Ricus Munden, de eadem; et Ricus Newerk, ac omes, etc.

Laurencius Stonestrete, Nichus Bulbroke, Johes Cotyng, Wills Sprynget, Johes Polyner, Robtus Wykern, Laurencius Gerad, Nichus Bokyngham, Johes urderdowne, Thomas Baskenyle, Laurencius Lovell, Robtus Taillour, Johes Myles, de *Sydyngburn*; Simon Sylk, Thomas Pers, Johes Beche, Johes Baker, Wills Denwey, Nichus Graungeman, et Johes Loksmyth.

Wills Ayot, de parochia de *Holyngburn*, yoman.

Johes Buttet, de *Brownley*, husb, alias Jenyn Buttet.

Waltus Culpepyr, de *Gouteherst*, armig; Johes Culpepyr, de eadem, fil ejus; Ricus Culpepyr; Wills Foule; Thomas Sancok; Thomas Wychynden; et Ricus Moys, ac omes alii, etc.

Johes Culpepyr, de *Gouteherst*, gent; Wills Mugge, de eadem; Johes Love, de eadem; Johes Bace, de eadem; Sphus Love, de eadem; Johes Benke, de eadem; Johes Baldok, de eadem; Thomas Dorley, de eadem; Thomas Wayte, de eadem, Johes Patyndon, de eadem; Johes Baker, de eadem; et Ricus Streter, de eadem, et omes, etc.

Johes Yorke, alias Johes Kelyng, de parochia de *Bekenam*, senior, husb; Johes de Yorke, alias Johes Kelyng, de parochia de *Bekenam*, husbondman; Johes Middey, de parochia de *Bekenam*, husb; et Wills Middey, de parochia de *Bekenam*, husb, et in hund de *Bromeley* et *Bekenam*, ac omes, etc.

Johes Gylford, de *Dolling*, gentilman.

Johes atte Water, Galfrus Breknok, Thomas Stranbowe, Thomas Hogyn, de parochia de *Bobbyng*, ac omes, etc.

Wills Sprynget, de *Sedyngburn*, yoman; Laurencius Lovell, de eadem; Johes Quynthe, de eadem; Johes Norden, de eadem; et Johes Mylys, de eadem, ac omes, etc.

Johes Mounford, de *Donn*; Ricus Godard, de Donn, husb; Riçus Willyam, de Donn, husb; Johes Petle, de Donn, husb; Johes Smyth, de Donn, husb; Wills Mathewe, de Donn, husb; Johes Erle, de Donn, yoman; Wills Walleys, de Donn, gentilman; Johes Maynell, de *Codham*; et Johes Rowched, de Codham, ac omes, etc.

Johes Blowere, de *Rouchestre*, draper;¹ Robtus Bonham, de eadem, skryvener; Johes Fraunceys, de eadem, laborer; Nichus Picard, de eadem, smyth; Petrus Pierles, de eadem, bocher; Thomas Fuller, de eadem, bruer; Johes Blakburn, de eadem, bruer.

Edmundus Chymbham, de parochia de *Southflete*, gent; Wills Edmond, de eadem, yoman; Ricus Jurdon, de eadem, yoman; Johes Shirwode, de eadem, yoman.

Johes Frere, de *Strode*, shipman; Robtus Frere, de eadem, shipman; Robtus Worme, de eadem, barbour; Johes Chese-man, corveser; Thomas Hencote, de eadem, mason; Simon Hert, de eadem, shipman; Johes Hert, de eadem, shipman.

Rog^{us} Appelton, senior, de *Dertford*, gentilman; Marg^{ia} ux⁹ ejus, Rog^{us} Appelton, filius p⁹dei Rogi, de eadem, gent; Thomas Herry, de eadem, yoman, ac omes, etc.

Thomas Undirdowne, de *Dertford*, watirman; Johes Underdowne, filius ipsius Thome, de eadem, watirman; et Johes Webbe, de eadem, watirman.

Wills Worthe, de Derteford, inholder; Waltus atte heath, de eadem, ferroure; Riçus atte heathe, filius ipsius Walti, de eadem, laborer; Ricus Holte, de eadem, sadler; Johes Page, de eadem, plomer; Johes Gubby, de eadem, chaundeler; Thomas Gubby, de eadem, laborer; Thomas Revet, de eadem, couper.

Henr Ruste, *alias* Henr Rous, de *Crayford*, yoman; Steplus Large, de *Derteford*, yoman; Wills Herry, de eadem, barbour; Thomas Smyth, de eadem, yoman; Johes Baker, de eadem, inholder; Wills Fuller, de *Stone*, yoman; Rog^{us}

¹ Membrane 6.

Loundyssh, de *Southflete*, husbondman; Johes Turnour, de *Derteford*, couper.

Stephus Rogger, de *Smerden*, bocher; Ricus Norton, de eadem; Johes Melle, husbondman; Wills Marlare, taillour; Thomas Elys, husb; Laurencius Marlare, taillour; Nichus Engeherst, husb; Johes Hogge, chapman; Johes Holstrete, husb; Thomas Pell, husb; Thomas Cook, husb; Ricus Scot, clothmaker; Thomas Heyman, clothmaker; Robtus Heyman, clothmaker; Robtus Whithed, laborer; Olmerus Dowelee, tyler; Johes Dowelee, tyler; Johes Materas, bocher; Wills Materas, smyth; Wills Habynden, laborer; Thomas Stace, husbondman; Thomas Sharp, taillour; Wills Melle, senior, husb; Robtus Tuysnoth, husb; Thomas Tuysnoth, laborer; Johes Philpot, fletcher; Johes Blechynden, carpenter; Wills Blechynden, carpenter; Thomas Kene, de eadem, fuller; Henr Burwassh, carpenter; Ricus Romynden, bocher; Johes Hooke, corveser; Johes Clerk, baker; Thomas Clerk, corveser; Robtus Clerk, baker; Alexus Sawyer, barbour; Johes Jaffrey, taillour; Johes Hamond, husb; Wills Bromley, husb; Wills Swyft, husb; Thomas Fuller, sawyer; Henr atte Dene, husb; Johes Colyn, thatcher; Johes Hunt, wever; Robtus Cheseman, laborer; Wills Philpot, colyer; Ricus Burney, draper; Stepheus Omynden, clothmaker; Robtus Downyng, turnour; Petrus Hoope, laborer; Ricus Blacche, laborer; Wills Hamond, sawyer; Johes Tobyll, laborer; Wills Tobyll, turnour; Laur⁹ Whytherynden, bocher; Johes Asshcombe, coryour; Johes Bocher, laborer; Ricus Bocher, carpenter; Wills atte heye, laborer; Henr Cloke, laborer; Ricus Comber, laborer; Henr Baker, sawyer; Simon Melle, laborer; Henr Colyn, taillour; Phus Baker, laborer; Ricus Baker, corveser; Stepheus Baker, thatcher; Johes Glover, bocher; Ricus Glover, glover; Robtus Butterford, chapman; Wills Engeherst, laborer; Robtus Couper, wever; Ricus Couper, laborer; Thomas Bresynden, fuller; Wills Bresynden, thatcher; Laur⁹ Bresynden, sawyer; Henr Gervays, laborer; Johes Rede, laborer; Johes Tyernden, wever; Thomas atte hoo, tanner; Johes atte Wode, husb; Johes atte Wode, tanner; Wills Hamme, smyth; Jacobus Bresynden, smyth; Johes Symond, laborer; Thomas Bailly, clothmaker; Wills Bailly, wever; Thomas Bailly, wever; Johes Yve, wever; Wills Newenden, laborer; Johes Cheseman, wever; Thomas Treton, turnour; Robtus Smyth, laborer;

Henr Petyte, taillour ; Johes Stone, laborer ; Laur^o Pope, bocher ; Ricus Bailly, wever ; et Nichus Stykker, skynner.

Thomas Burgeys, de *Gravene*, armig ; et Johes Thornbury, de *Feversham*, armig.

Thomas Ussher, de parochia *See Margarete juxta Roff*, husb ; Johes Hassok, de eadem, carpenter ; Thomas Bradford, de eadem, husb ; et Thomas Brabon, de eadem, carpenter.

Robtus Tuk, de parochia de *Esterfarlegh*, carpenter ; Thomas Petsmyth, de eadem, mason ; et Waltus Prebyll, de eadem, husbondman.

Edmundus Chertesey, de *Hedecrone*, gentilman ; Thomas Burden, de parochia de *Edecrone*, husbondman ; Thomas Baker, de eadem, draper ; Michael Burden, de eadem, husbondman ; Robtus Lytlesden, de eadem, husb ; Henr^o Brice, de eadem, bocher ; et Thomas Edenden, de eadem, bocher.

Johes Ferry, de *Gyllyngham*, yoman ; Wills Wynter, de *Pepybury*, husbondman ; et Johes Floure, de eadem, husbondman.

Ricus Cokset, de *Rouchestre*, yoman ; Wills Dunston, de eadem, yoman ; Wills Wyse, de eadem, yoman ; Johes Rogger, de eadem, cordewayner ; Ricus Yate, de eadem, yoman ; Thomas Maunfeld, de eadem, taillour ; et Johes Baker, de eadem, yoman.

Johes Rede, de *Rouchestre*, seniore, yoman ; Johes Rede, de eadem, juniore, yoman ; Wills Herry, de eadem, bruer ; Laurencius Holbroke, de eadem, joynour ; Nichus Wever, de eadem, wever ; et Robtus atte Wode, de *Asshe juxta Frenyngham*, yoman.

Thomas Tebbe, de *Brynchesle*, yoman ; et Thomas Brok, de *Marden*, yoman.

Wills Hereward, de *Rouchestre*, talloughchaundler ; Wills Wollys, de eadem, husb ; Johes Malet, de eadem, chapman ; Johes Botswayne, de eadem, laborer ; Johes Couper, de eadem, s^uaunt ; Robtus Omyllok, Wills Godfrey, Nichus Truley, Ricus Godfrey, Petrus Carpenter ; et Wills Coke.

Wills Estmere, Johes Gybbe, Nichus Sarles, Johes Trukkys, Johes Cok, Henr^o Polan, Johes Heremyte, Wills Wrothton, Henr Waryn, Wills Osbarn, Johes Hamelet, juniore, Johes Wadde, Johes Hamelet, seniore, Johes Bokenfold, Johes atte Hecche, Wills atte Wode, Thomas Pollard, Johes May, Johes Spuddell, Simon Canon, Wills Crippys, Johes Frende, Thomas

Gillot, Johes Symond, Johes Colyn, Henr Bedell, Ricus Poland, Wills Grene, Thomas Robyn, Johes Gilbe, Ricus Pollard, Wills Pore, Thomas Upton, Wills Wade, Simon Estlesse, Jacobus Gedewyn, Henr⁹ John, Thomas Page, Johes Slikdod, Johes Ware, Hamandus Basset, Robtus Cokman, Wills Grantham, Wills Brodeville, Johes Cosyn, Johes Parys, Thomas Trill, Thomas Clerk, de parochia de *Upchirche*, husb.

Johes Dygges, de *Newyngton*; Ricus Dygges, de Newynton; Robtus Barford, de eadem; Thomas Herry, Johes Herry, Johes Thomas, Wills Woddard, Johes Clement, Wills Geffray, Thomas Long, et Johes Geffray, de villa et parochia de Newynton, in HUNDR: DE MILTON.

Johes Tredaunt, de *Asshford*, yoman; Johes Wattes, de eadem, yoman; Wills Egerynden, de eadem, bocher; et Petrus Kynet, de *Wyvelesbergh*, bocher.

Johes Ferry, de *Gylllyngham*, yoman; Wills Wynter, de *Pepynbury*, husb; et Johes Floure, de eadem, husbondman.

Wills Brownyng, de *Herietisham*, yoman.

David Wylkyn, de *Middelton*, shipman.

Wills Penyngton, de *Osprynge*, capellanus.

Robtus Shayle, de *Maydeston*; et Ricus Wode, de eadem.

Robtus Bettenham, de parochia de *Plukley*, gentilman; Radus Welde, de eadem, yoman; Wills Gyles, de eadem, yoman; Ricus Tylgheman, de eadem, yoman; Henr⁹ Hert, de eadem, yoman; Wills Hoke, yoman; Ricus Dnoll, draper; Thomas Tylgheman, smyth; Ricus Pekenham, draper; Thomas Wanden, draper; Thomas Pix, carpenter; Wills atte Forde, husb; Stephus Piryfeld, couper; Ricus Child, carpenter; Valentinus Child, carpenter; Johes Godard, wever; Wills Godard, wever; Johes Hert, husb; Thomas Hert, husb, Johes Best, husb; Rogus Peteman, husb; Rogus Bever, husb; Wills Monde, husbondman; Jacobus Bocher; Ricus Kyngessnoth, husb; Wills Kyngessnoth, husb; Johes Brounsmyth, husb; Johes Baker, tyler; Thomas Elys, husb; Robtus Monde, husb; Thomas Denys, husb; Galfrus Spyte, taillour; Wills Materas, husb; Johes Gybon, husb; Thomas Philpot, husb; Thomas Scot, husb; Johes Rukke, laborer; Robtus Sawyere, laborer; Johes Sawyere, laborer; Johes Kyngessnoth, laborer; Johes Hasilherssh, laborer; Johes Hoget, laborer; Johes Bocher, fuller; Dionisius Rychard, taillour; Wills Bocher, laborer; Wills Doull, fuller; Thomas Kyngessnoth, fuller; Thomas

Gybon, laborer; Georgius Baker, laborer; et Ricus Grenstrete, laborer, ac omes, etc.

Ricus Dyne, de *Maydeston*, gent.

Johes Gouell, de *Boxle*, yoman; Henr² Asshby, yoman; Rogus Man, yoman; Robtus Man, yoman; Thomas Gulley, yoman; et Johes Clynton, de eadem, yoman.

Johes Knyght, de *Charrying*, yoman.

Thomas Heed, de *Plukle*, yoman, simul cum aliis.

Johes Thrope, de *Ightham*, baker; Ricus Thrope, Johes Mercer, Wills Godewyn, Wills Sawyer, et Johes Smyth, de *Ightham*, ac omes, etc.

Johes Sencler, de *Feversham*, armig; Will Barbour, de eadem, senior, gentilman; Simon Orwell, de eadem, bruer; Johes Ulf, de eadem, fysshmonger; Ricus Drayton, de eadem, bruer; Ricus Croft, de eadem, gentilman; Robtus Wastel, de eadem, bocher; Johes Orwell, de eadem, bruer; Johes London, de eadem, yoman; Johes Poland, de eadem, glover; Wills Weeks, de eadem, bocher; Stephus White, de eadem, tanner; et Thomas Stede, de eadem, yoman.

Rogus Heth, de *Ore*, husb; Thomas Heth, nuþ de eadem villa, laborer; et Robtus Heth, de eadem villa, laborer.

Wills Foughill, de Magna Chart, diere, CONSTABULARIUS HUNDR: DE CHART;¹ Johes Fogge, armig; Rogus Twysden, Wills Goldwell, Wills Assherst, husb; Ricus Sprot, yoman; Johes Watte, yoman; et Johes Foughill, ac omes, etc.

Wills Egerynden, constabularius HUND: DE LONGEBRYGGE,² in parochia de Assheteford; Wills Brokman, de eadem, gent; Johes Brokman, gent; Johes Werde, mercer; Alex Harry, sherman; Johes Tredaunt, tayllour; Marcus Salman, fletcher; et Ricus Burman, de eadem, chapman, ac omes, etc.

Johes Crips, de *Lenham*, yoman.

Johes Salmon, Ricus Aleyn, Johes Roger, Thomas, of *Hoo*, Wills Stevyn, shipman; Johes Stephyn, Johes Carew, Johes Northwode, Johes Stephyn, de *Brokestrode*; Wills Whit-hayles, Johes Edward, Johes Balfyr, Hamudus Pere, Johes Baker, Ricus Baker, Thomas Baker, Henricus Northwode, Johes Wygyn, Thomas Porker, Henricus Baker, Henricus Colyn, Salmon Ryche, Gilbertus Bocher, Wills Stephyn, Johes Stephynson, Thomas Colyn, Johes Rose, Wills Whyttlals, senior; Johes Hopkyn, Ricus Copyn, Johes Craine, Henr

¹ See *ante*, p. 245.

² See *ante*, p. 245.

Hamond, Henr Bochier, Wills Knepe, Thomas Rogers, Robtus Martyn, Adam Balsyre, Johes Porker, Ricus Shypwassh, Henr Parker, Petrus Thomson, Wills Godfray, Johes Elmer, Wills Brodstrete, Reus Brodstrete, Reus Frensshe, Wills Osey, Thomas Osey, Thomas Martyn, Reus Balfyr, Johes Dyrward, Robtus Carys, Johes Shepper, Wills Jonson, Johes Coole, Thomas Levyng, Thomas Janyn, Thomas Osey, junior, Thomas Roger, senior; Johes Boll, Johes Hopkyn, Thomas Pax, Johes Brede, Wills Balfyr, Thomas Boll, Henr Gylwyn, Johes Janyn, Thomas Derett, Johes Roger, junior; Thomas Barbour, Johes Pax, Johes Strode, Johes Lunse, Wills Luse, Johes Brede, senior; Salmon Elmer, Thomas Elmer, Petrus Smyth, Robtus Brede, Johes Brede, junior; Thomas Merssh, Johes Smelt, Johes Moys, Thomas Taillor, Thomas Brede, Wills Coke, Cristoforus Boll, Johes Brede, Adam Edward, Wills Aleyn, Johes German, Johes Taylor, Robtus Wellard, Wills German, Wills Shyppwassh, Wills Olyf, Ricus Elnore, Johes Pottre, Johes Symond, ac omnes alii et singuli de parochia, et HUND: DE WHYTSTAPLE.

Wills Wodegate, et Johes Wodegate, de *Edynbrygge*.¹

Wills Canon, de *Tenham*, maryner; et Ricus Reyson, de eadem, maryner.

Thomas Elys, of *Maydeston*, senior, husbondman; Thomas Elys, junior, husbondman; Johes Reder, husbondman; Thomas Master, husbondman; Thomas Luk, husbondman; Wills Joce, husbondman; Thomas Peppymbury, de *Merden*, husbondman; Johes Harry, de *Lynton*, husbondman; Thomas Tylden, de *Merden*, husbondman; et Johes Stercough, de *Lynton*, husbondman, ac omes, etc.

Ricus Dene, de *Maydeston*, dobelete maker; Alanus Gerard, smyth; Robtus Fordham, corvyser; Radus Long, spyser; Johes Long, waxchaundeler; Ricus Long, barbour; Johes Crompe, barbour; Ricus Maynard, corvyser; Nichus Celkys, laborer; Johes Chapman; et Petrus Park, yoman; ac omes, etc.

Johes Hyllys, de *Horsmonden*, baker; Henr Hykmot, et Ricus Bygland.

Sphus Carder, de *Cranebroke*; et Thomas Carder, filius suus.

Thomas Cotyng, de parochia de *Bakchyld*, yoman; Lodewico John, husb; Thomas Messenger, husb; Laurencius Danver, husb; Ricus Bromfeld, husb; Johes Messenger, seniore,

¹ Membrane 5.

husb; Johes Messenger, juniore, husb; Adam Messenger, husb; Nichus Newenton, husb; Robt Crewese, husb; Rogus Stampyke, husb; Nichus Cloue, husbm; Johes Wayman, husb; Wills Wayman, husb; Robtus Wylson, husb; Johes Metar, husb; Bened^o Metar, husb; Wills Russell, husb; Wills Steker, husb; Henr^o atte Wode, husb; et Stephus Peere, husbondman, ac omes, etc.

Ricus Smyth, de *Shorne*; Johes Smyth, Wills Hamme, Johes Davy, Johes Hauke, Petrus Hauke, Petrus Page, Thomas Bedill, Ricus Yong, Thomas Coke, et Ricus Neweman.

Adam Dane, de *Bredherst*, husbondman; Rogus Rolff, husb; Wills Gildewyne, husb; Johes Kemmysle, husb; Johes Fylle, husb; Thomas Sayyere, husb; Thomas Costedyll, de eadem, husb; Thomas Flete, de *Borle*, husb; Johes Stretys, seniore, husb; Thomas Stretys, juniore, de eadem, yoman; Johes Jellyffe, de *Gelyngham*, husb; Wills Bratyll, husb; Johes Well, de eadem, laborer; Adam Stretys, de *Bredherst*, husb; et Petrus Page, de *Stokebury*, laborer.

Bernardus Kawyll, de *Chesyltherst*, CONSTABULAR HUNDR DE ROKYSLEY; Phus atte Well, de *Orpyngton*; Wills Miller, de *Orpyngton*; Thomas Stabyll, de *Cray b'e Marie*; Johes Petely, de *Downe*; Johes Jeter, de *Chelseld*; Robtus Mabelote, de *Orpyngton*; Vincencius Broke, de *Orpyngton*; et Ricus Wallsshe, de *Cray b'e Marie*.

Johes Gate, de *Estgrenwiche*, bocher, et Maŕgia, ux ejus; Ricus Henham, carpenter; et Maŕgia, ux ejus; Ricus Gate, reder, et Margareta, ux ejus; Ricus Fox, laborer, et Petronilla, ux ejus; Johes Berde, couper, et Margareta, ux ejus; Simon Nele, pulter, et Petronilla, ux ejus; Nichus Astyng, taillour, et Margia, ux ejus; Radus Denys, baker, et Alicia, ux ejus; Johes Lavender, de eadem, bocher; et Robtus Heruy, de eadem, barbour.

Thomas Elbrigge, de *Rouchestre*, tauernuer, et Johanna, ux ejus; Wills Thurston, yoman; Thomas Maunsell, taillour; et Ricus Nicoll, de eadem, tynker, omes, etc.

Hugo Godewyn, gent; et Ricus Culpeper, gent, ac omes, etc.

Johes Payne, de parochia de *Merworth*, gentilman; Robtus Chamberleyn, de eadem, gentilman; et Johes Taillour, de eadem, husb, ac omes, etc.

Thomas Sport, de *Middelton*, smyth; Henry Malls, shipman; Wills Maas, shipman; Ricus Shipman, husb; Wills Cok, ship-

man; Johes Tresbon, husb; Johes Bragh, fuller; Alanus Baron, cordwayner; Wills Role, tanner; Sampson atte Style, barbour; Thomas Sane, shipman; Johes Stepemham, shipman; Gerardus Rus, bereman; Thomas Stenyn, shipman; Johes Cok, shipman; Henr² Wythlok, shipman; Johes Symnet, shipman; Wills Symnet, shipman; Wills Symmet, shipman; Nichus Gate, roper; Johes Noke, bocher; Wills Bugge, husbondman; Johes Bugge, husbondman; et Thomas Echet, husbondman.

Wills Grene, et Thomasia ux ejus.

Laurencius Levyngdall.

Thomas atte Wode, de parochia de *Holyngborn*, in HUND: DE HEYBORN, husbondman, ac omes, etc.

Jacobus Cheynwe, de *Westeram*, gent.

Johes Aston, de *Maydeston*, yoman; et Barthus Guerdon; et Ricus Aston, de *Gowteherst*, yoman.

Johes Rychefeld, Thomas Tyrry, constabularus HUNDR: DE RYNGYSLOWE; Wills Manston, Thomas Saynt Johes Nichus Sandeway; et Johes Malyn.

Ricus Chalkhill, de *Maydeston*.

Thomas Godyng, de *Yeldyng*, yoman; et Johes Snode, *Hunton*, husb.

Johes Clyfford, de *Bobbyng*, armig; et Wills Norton, de *Sheldwych*, armig.

Wills Downe, de *Westmallyng*, gent; Robtus Langley, de parochia de Westmallyng, gent; et Wills Gunne, de eadem, yoman.

Wills Robert, de parochia de *Hese*, husb;¹ Johes Heuer, husb; Ricus Shot, husb; Ricus Aleyn, husb; Alanus Nasshe, husb; Johes Aleyn, husb; Hugo Kechill, husb; Wills Frensshe, husb; et Simon Kechill, husb, ac omes, etc.

Rich²us Nether, de hund de *Beknam et Bromeley*, yoman; Robtus Payn, de eadem, yoman; Henr Payn, yoman; et Thomas Thornton, de eadem, yoman.

Hugo atte Wode, of *Ealdyng*, gentilman; Johes Orger, yoman; Wills Water, yoman; et Ricus Coueney, chapman; constabularii de HUNDR: de TWYFORD.

Johes Elphy, de parochia de *Burlyng*, carpenter; Ricus Welcok, de eadem, carpenter; et Wills Broune, de eadem, carpenter.

¹ Membrane 4.

Ricus Bolt, de *Denton*, husb; Johes Bolt, husb; Ricus Veisy, husb; Ricus Osbern, husb; Johes Bisshop, de eadem, husb; Andreas Wilby, de *Chalk*, husb; Thomas Kebbyll, nup de *Shorne*, grome; et Johes Kebbyll, grome.

Thomas Huchon, Johes Godfrey senior, Johes Godfrey junior, Johes Aleyn, Ricus Atte Crowche; Rob^{tus} Prall, Thomas Dyne, Nichus Bosyne, Robtus Rolf, Clemens Rolf, Thomas Atte Strete, Robtus Godfrey, Rogus Murstok, Robtus Halstok; et Wills Poynant, de parochia de *Stone*, in hund de Oxney, husbondmen; Henr^o Northland, Wills Moseden; et Wills Kynet, de parochia de *Ebney*, in eadem hund, husbondmen.

Ricus Toly, vynter; et Johes Grene, yoman.

Hugo Caxton, de *Sandewico*, mercer; Ricus Halk, de eadem, chapman; Wills Nede, de eadem, spyce; Thomas Davy, de eadem, barbour; Thomas Bromer, de eadem, chapman; Henr^o Chadilwode, de eadem, chapman; Johes Pette, de eadem, bruer; et Nichus Saunder, de eadem, taloughchaundler.

Ricus Joskyn, de *Cobham*, senior, husb; Johes Joskyn, de eadem, yoman; Johes Sprever, de eadem, bocher; Wills Sprever, de eadem, senior, yoman; Wills Sprever, de eadem, junior, yoman; Waltus Shippe, de eadem, yoman; Henr Stace, de eadem, husb; Thomas Wright, de eadem, yoman; et Waltus Stace, de eadem, senior, yoman; ac omes, etc.

Thomas Kelsham, gent; Ricus Burden, Michael Burden, Thomas Burden, Petrus Widynbroke, Thomas Baker, Thomas Homersham, Thomas Widynbroke, Thomas Edynden, Simon Whitsperok, Henricus atte Well, Johes Hamersham, Waltus Turnour, Ricus Hasper, Thomas Turnour, Johes Frary, Johes Fuller, Johes Bowdon, junior, Thomas Thornherst, Henr^o Hammond, Thomas Fuller, Robtus Lellisden, Petrus Hoigge, senior, Wills Grigge, Johes Fox, Wills Manne, Stephus Manne, Simon Hoigge, Radus Blechynden, Thomas Blechynden, Rogus Bakere, Radus Bayman, Johes Gateman junior, Radus Blechynden, Stephus Rede, Johes Bachelere, Rogus Turnour, Johes Turnour, Wills Sandir, Wills Hamme, Rogus Edynden, Galfrus atte Wode, Radus Baily, Johes atte Crowche, Thomas Baily, Radus atte Crowche, Robtus Burghaissh, Ricus at Chambir, Johes Thornherst, Thomas Prat, Stephus Symme, Johes Ropere, Henr^o Burden, Thomas Birchet, Johes Hovyn-den, Petrus Atte Brigge, Johes Atte Brigge, junior, Johes Bishop, Henr^o Bisshop, Wills Bysshop, Petrus Hoigge, junior,

Stephus Boycote, Stepheus Adam, Thomas Bakere, Johes atte Tonge, Rogus Hamond, Robtus Marketman, Johes Burdon, Johes Southlond, Johes Grigge, Henr² Grigge, Stepheus Elcok, Henr² Brice, Johes Boicote, Johes Gateman, senior, Thomas Boicote, Robtus Whithede, Wills Gune, Johes Swyneham, Johes Whitspereichauke, Henr Whitspereichauke, Thomas Pix, Johes Blachynden, Waltus Gaunt, de parochia de *Hedecron*.

Waltus Brencheley, de parochia de *Denynden*, gent; Johes Sharp, de eadem, yoman; Johes Wylert, de eadem, yoman; Robtus Wolf, de eadem, yoman; Thomas Stays, de eadem, yoman; Wills Keppying, de eadem, yoman.

Wills Sandhirste, de *Lamberhirste*, yoman; et Johes Martyn, de *Brynchesle*, yoman.

Ricus Coise, de *Spelhurst*, yoman; et Wills Knyght, de *Pepynbury*, yoman.

Thomas Carter, de *Maideston*, draper; Wills Brok, barbour; Wills Smyth, mason; Thomas Clavinger, grocer; Ricus Carter, draper; Wills Colyn, wexchaundler; Hamo Clerk, barbour; Johes Brok, de *Ealdyng*, wever; Ricus Piers, de eadem, draper; et Ricus Maunfeld, de eadem, barbour.

Johes Baker, de *Horsmonden*, husb; Stepheus Baker, coteler; Ricus Baker, glover; Laurencius Baker, laborer; Wills Olyver, s²uant; Ricus Joce, husb; Wills Cloute, carpenter; Stepheus Cloute, carpenter; et Jacobus Hulles, husb, ac omes, etc.

Thomas Harry et Johes Rychevile, constabularij HUND DE RYNGSLOUE; ac Wills Manston, et Johes Septvans, ac omes, etc.¹

Johes Prat, de *Maideston*, carpenter; Thomas Dousynd, husb; Thomas Swyft, smith; Ricus Plotte, carpenter; Thomas Russell, yoman; Johes Clobyer, cornester; Wills Humfrey, smyth; Thomas Lott, laborer; Robtus Fysshier, taillour; et Ricus Deanden, de eadem, laborer.

Johes Cokeram, MAIOR VILLE NRE DE QUENEBURGH, marchant;² Johes Swalman, de Queneburgh, yoman; Wills Baker, baker; Wills Britte, maryner; Johes Britte, maryner; Johes Masyn, maryner; Wills Canon, maryner; Alanus Jacob, maryner; Galfrus Benet, maryner; Robtus Somter, maryner; et Johes Willys, de Queneburgh, maryner.

Ricus Smyth, de *Westram*, yoman; Thomas Stacy, taner; Johes Man, husb; Wills Chawry, husb; et Thomas Gillot, husb, de eadem.

¹ See *ante*, p. 268.

² The charter was granted in 1366.

Johes Cok, et Thomas Pycard, constabularij hund de LITTE, et LESYN, ac omes, etc.¹

Ricus Berbet, de *Hastynglye*, husbondman; Wills Serles, senior, husb; Thomas Serles, husb; Stephus Mathewe, husb, de eadem; Wills Serles, de *Wy*, husb; et Thomas Bette, de eadem, husb.

Henr² Pakeman, de *Hoo*, husb; Johes Never, husb; et Johes Malyt, de eadem, husb.

Johes Clerke, psona ecclie de *Halgesto*,² in hund de *Hoo*; Simon Dalam, husb; et Johes Neweman, de eadem, husb.

The repetition of names in several distinct pardons may show that the lists were hurriedly sent in: but as the constables of some of the hundreds are twice entered on the roll, and in some instances the names differ, it may be, as I have before suggested, that the pardons are for the separate risings: the one for the original advance to Blackheath, and the other for the second and more formidable advance after the affray at Sevenoaks.

¹ See *ante*, p. 257.

² See *ante*, p. 250.

INVENTORIES OF (I.) ST. MARY'S HOSPITAL OR
 MAISON DIEU, DOVER; (II.) THE BENEDICTINE
 PRIORY OF ST. MARTIN NEW-WORK, DOVER, FOR
 MONKS; (III.) THE BENEDICTINE PRIORY OF
 SS. MARY AND SEXBURGA, IN THE ISLAND OF
 SHEPEY, FOR NUNS.

WITH ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES

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I RECENTLY found among the miscellaneous collections of MSS. in the Public Record Office several inventories of religious houses, during researches for my 'Cathedral Cities of England and Wales.' Those hitherto unpublished among these very interesting accounts I have contributed to other publications, but the residue, three in number, I have the pleasure now to communicate to the 'Archæologia Cantiana,' as they relate to houses in Kent, two being severally those of a Nunnery and a Maison Dieu, and, as far as my experience goes, unique. Such lists have been called, with more pithiness than injustice, the skeletons of monastic history; for it requires only a slight stretch of imagination, and a little thought, to reproduce the various chambers with their furniture complete, and present to the mind's eye a true and vivid portraiture of their inner aspect and domestic arrangements. No description so complete has ever come under my notice. I regret that from

the destruction of documents it is out of my power to contribute any information with regard to the internal working of a Maison Dieu; but the injunctions to Romsey Abbey, which I published in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' (vol. xiv. n.s.), and the Customals of Westminster Abbey and Bury St. Edmund's, analysed by me from MSS. in the British Museum, fully illustrate the home-life of the Benedictines, which hitherto has been gleaned from the Durham rites as they existed only at the period immediately preceding the Reformation, and scanty notices scattered up and down monastic chronicles.

The illustrative notes I have either drawn principally from primary MS. sources, or tested carefully by the opinions of English writers of standard authority, not leaning absolutely, as is too frequently the custom, upon the Gallican experiences of Du Cange.

I. ST. MARY'S HOSPITAL, OR MAISON DIEU.

The Maison Dieu was a hospital for the reception of poor priests, pilgrims, and strangers, both men and women; and there were similar establishments, the Holy Trinity at Arundel (now in ruins)¹, at Portsmouth (where the hall and chapel remain), and at Southampton, where St. Julian's Norman Chapel has been lately restored, and the Early English gateway remains.²

The arrangement of the buildings was simple, consisting of a large hall, with lateral chambers, and terminating in a chapel; the plan may be seen in St. Mary's, Chichester, in Browne's, at Stamford, and in hospitals at Wells and Sherborne. In the present instance, a north-west belfry-tower, and a sacristy on the north-east also remain. The arches which opened into the rooms on the north side of the hall are now closed up.

¹ Tierney, p. 662.

Wilks' Hants, vol. ii. p. 280.

We find notices of the Great Chamber called the Hostry, and a little chamber within it; Sir Peer's Chamber and the chamber over the water; the Master's chamber and stables; the Kitchen, Infirmary, Garner, brewhouse, bakehouse, etc.

The alms at Portsmouth included fourscore pounds out of the temporal lands, out of which was maintained a chaplain, priest, and six poor men, and six poor men received each sixpence a week, and every fortnight seven loaves of bread and five gallons of ale.¹

The pillage extended to the Friaries, and the Suffragan delivered up at Dover, in gilt plate, M ixÇ xxxvi oz., in parcell gilt, M ixÇ xxiiij oz., and in white plate, vÇ viii oz.; in all III M iiiÇ lxviii oz.²

The Inventory of all such goods and catalls as be in the house called the MEASON DE DIEU, of DOUVER, and of all catell, the which wer of the late Master and brethren, ther taken by JOHN ANTONY³, servant to the most wurshipfull Master CRUMWELL, Secretary to the Kyngs Hyghnes, the xxiii daie of Jannuarye, the xxvjth yere of the reigne of Kyng Henry the viiith.

PLATE. first, iij gylt chalyses, with ij patens and ij gylt sponys, wherof one chalyce is coper and gylt, waying xlii uncs.

Item, ij olde fasshon pieces, with ij covers, parcell gylt, waying lx uncs.

Item, iij pownst⁴ pecys of silver, waying xxj uncs.

Item, iij parcell gilt saltts, with a cover, waying xv uncs.

¹ MS. Inventory, p. 310, fo. 237.

² MS. Inv. of Friaries, fo. 33.

³ He was one of the visitors of monasteries (2 Cranmer, p. 271).

⁴ Pownced, punched, punctured, stippled, stamped, or pricked, by way of ornamentation. A pouncet-box was a perforated perfume-box, and a pouncer was used by gravers. This kind of work was called *pounsonnez* or *ponçonnée* in French, and in Latin *ponsatum*. (See 'Archæologia,' vol. xxix. p. 55.) Pownson is rendered puncto in the 'Promptorium Parvulorum,' vol. ii. p. 411. The word occurs also in the MS. Inventory of Whalley.

Item, ij standyng Cuppys, parcell gylt, with a cover, waying xv uncs.

Item, iij dosen of sylver sponys, waying xxvj uncs.

Item, a Cruett of sylver, parcell gilt, and a nut with a cover of sylver, parcell gylt, weying xv uncs.

Item, iij Saltts, parcell gylt, with ij covers, waying xxxiii uncs.

Item ij littell potts with covers of sylver, parcell gylt, and a flatt piece of sylver, parcell gylt, weying xxiiij uncs.

Item, iij dosen of sylver sponys, weying xxiiij uncs.

Item, ij sponys of sylver gylt, waying

Item, v grete masers with small bonds of sylver and gylt, and a littell olde nut with a bonde of sylver and gylt, and a littell bonde of sylver and gylt, waying in all lx uncs.

Item, ij Nutts with ij covers of sylver and gylt, and the seid Nutts garnysshid with sylver and gylt, waying xxxiiij uncs.

Item, iij Masers, whereof iij of them be with gylt bonds, and the fourth with a sylver bonde, dailye occupied, waying xxiiij uncs.

Item, ij Masers with brode bands, sylver and gylt, and a litell maser with a fote and a small bande, sylver and gylt, waying xviii uncs.

Item, ij small masers with brode bands of sylver and gilt, waying lx uncs.

Item, a stone pot and a nut, garnysshid with silver and gilte, with ij covers of sylver and gilt, waying xv uncs.

Item, a standyng Cuppe with a cover and a goblet with a cover all gilt, weying xxiii uncs.

IN THE VESTRYE.¹ First, iij chalyces of sylver and gylt, and one other of coper and gylt, waying lxiii uncs.

Item, j chalice and a paxe² of sylver, parcell gylt, waying xv uncs.

Item, ij candlestycks of sylver, parcell gylt, waying xx uncs.

¹ Richard de la Wyche, the canonized bishop of Chichester, consecrated St. Edmund's Altar in the Maison Dieu on Mid-Lent Sunday, 1253, in the presence of King Henry III. The Chapel was dedicated to St. Mary in 1227.

² Pax, "asser ad pacem," or osculatory, "tabula ad osculandum"—a tablet of wood or round metal plate, which the priest kissed and gave to the people for the same purpose after the consecration, instead of the ancient kiss of charity.

Item, ij cruetts, whereof one is of byrrall,¹ garnyshsshed with sylver and gilt, and the other sylver and gylt, waying vij uncs. d. i.

Item, ij Sensors, and a ship² of sylver, parcell gylt, waying lxxv uncs.

Item, ij basens of sylver, parcell gylt, waying xxxix uncs.

Item, a Crosse of Coper and gylt, with certeyn sylver plate about the same.

Item, iiij Corporasses³ with ther casys of clothe of golde and sylver.

Item, iiij Corporasses and ther casys, daylye occupied.

Item, iij Cortens of grene sylke.

Item, ii Copes of black velvet, with a vestment for a preyst, decon, and subdeakon, with that that apperteynith.

Item, v copys of cloth gold, with a vestment⁴ for a priest, decon, and subdeakon, with thappurtenances⁵ the grownde of blewe velvett.

Item, ij copys of crymson velvet, olde, with a vestment for a preyst, decon, and subdekan, with thappurtenances.

Item, a cope with a vestment for a preyst, decon, and subdecon, with thappurtenances of grene clothe of bawdekyn.

Item, j cope of whyte sylke, embrodered with byrds of grene sylke, with a vestment for a preist, decon, and subdecon, with thappurtenances.

¹ Beryl designated both the precious stone and fine glass, like crystal.

² The incense-boat; furnished with a spoon.

³ Corporas,—a consecrated white linen cloth, used in the service of the altar and placed over its ordinary coverings; upon it the chalice and host rested. (See Arch. Cant. V. p. 70, note 2.) The technical name of the embrodered case was “theca,” “bursa,” “repositorium,” etc.

⁴ Vestment was the technical name for a suit of mass-robes for priest, deacon, and subdeacon—the chasuble, dalmatic, and tunicle. The cope (from *cop*, a covering), which resembled an ample cloak, was used in processions. (Durandi Ration. lib. iii. c. 1; Canons, 960, c. 33.) The chasuble (*casula*, a little house), like the ancient trabea, was of rich texture, with an aperture for the head in the centre, and hanging down on every side almost to the ground; the dalmatic, so called from a robe of state worn in Dalmatia, was shorter, and open at the sides, which terminated in angles, and had wide sleeves and two stripes of embroidery; the tunicle was without embroidery, and the sleeves were narrower, and the whole dress of less dimensions. The dalmatic was not worn by the Cistercians. (Martine de Ant. Mon. Rit. iv. p. 78.)

⁵ Appurtenances or appendages, viz. the albe, amice, stole, maniple, and girdle.

Item, a vestment for a priest and decon of red sylke, embrowdered with byrds of golde, with thappurtenances.

Item, j red vestment with thappurtenances of bawkekyn¹ worke, olde.

Item, j vestment of red damaske, with the appurtenances.

Item, j vestment of purple velvet, with the appurtenances.

Item, j vestment of white damaske with a grene Crosse, with the appurtenances.

Item, j vestment of red sylke, with the appurtenances.

Item, j olde vestment of black velvet for a priest and decon, with the appurtenances.

Item, xii copys of red satten of brugs.

Item, xj copys of whyte bustian, imbrodered with red rosys of saye² and cloth.

Item, iij copys of grene sylke, old bawdkyn worke.

Item, j vestment of red sylke, bawdkyn worke, with the appurtenances.

Item, j vestment of olde whyte fustyan, with a Crosse of red saye, with the appurtenances.

Item, ix olde vestments, with all thyng thereto belongyng, occupied dailye.

Item, iij olde carpetts, of tapestreye, to be laid before the aulter.

Item, ij carpetts of red wollen, and ij whyte wollen and iij other carpetts, to be laid before aulters.

Item, ii cushions made of an olde cope, and ij other olde cushions.

IN THE GREAT CHAMBER CALLED THE HOOSTRYE.³ First, in the same chamber iij tables, ij payer of trestylls, ij old Gentyshe⁴

¹ Bawdkyn (like the Italian *baldacchino*, a canopy), cloth of gold from Bagdad, Babylon, or Baldaeca, whence the first rich stuffs of this kind were imported. (Vincent of Beauvais, l. xxxii. c. 30.)

² Saye, a kind of woollen cloth, or serge, made in large quantities at Sudbury, near Colchester.

³ The Guest House, or reception chamber, still remaining. The word in the Inventory of Hales Owen Abbey is spelt *Ostre*, and *Ostripanes* are mentioned at Rochester (Custum. Ross. p. 25). The Black Hostry at Ely adjoined the Infirmary. In the Hostry of Whalley I find mentioned the chief chamber, the parlour beneath, the lady chamber, the gallery chamber, the bishop's chambers, and the King's receiver's chambers. (MS. Invent. p. 310.)

⁴ In the custom accounts of Sandwich, temp. Henry VIII., six "Kentish"

carpetts, j long setell, iiij formes, j littell olde cubbord, iij tornyd cheyres, with iiij olde cusschyns, and j olde wyrred stole, a payr of andyrans with a fyre forke, and a lyttell olde chest, wherein is one olde Gentysh coverlet.

Item, a grete bedsted, with a testure of wod, a fetherbed, and a coverlet of verdour.

Item, a littell bedsted with a fetherbed, and an olde coverlet.

IN THE LITTELL CHAMBER WITHIN THE HOOSTRYE. First, j bedstede, a fetherbed, an olde blanket, a coverlet of verdour, olde, a littell olde quylt, a testour¹ of saye, with cortens of the same, and hangyngs of the chamber of olde saye, payntted, ij torned cheyres with one olde cusschon.

Item, j OTHER LITTEL CHAMBER, wherein is j bedstede and an olde fetherbed.

IN THE CHAMBER OVER THE WATER. First, in the same chamber ij tables, ij formes, and j torned cheyer.

Item, IN THE CHAMBER WITHIN THAT a bedstede, with j olde fether-bed and j olde coverlet of tapystry, with a testure and curteyns of other whyte clothe.

Item, an olde presse, wherein lieth an old quylt, an olde coverlet of tapystrye, and j coverlet of red wollen, very olde.

Item, ANOTHER LITTELL CHAMBER WITHIN THAT, ij bedsteds, j olde matteras,² and j olde littell fetherbed.

IN THE CHAMBER CALLED SIR PEER'S³ CHAMBER. First, ij bedsteds, ij fetherbedds, j olde coverlet.

NAPERIE IN THE CUSTODY OF JOHN ENYVERS WIFE.⁴ First, xxx payr of Canvass sheats, xij olde payr of olde sheets. Item, v payrs and j sheete for the Hoostrye. Item, v payr of olde sheets for the Firmerye.⁵ Item, x pylowes, withvj pyllowberes.

carpets occur, and in the Booke of New Rates, 2 James I., are Brunswick, China, Gentish, and Turkey carpets. There is an instance of the latter in the Prior's Chamber of the New-Work.

¹ Teester, rendered capitellum in the 'Promptorium,' vol. iii. p. 489. It was the upper hanging over a bed. The word also occurs for horse-equipage or housings, Wardrobe Issue, 6 Edw. III., 5 Ric. II., and a cover for a "mail," 1322.

² The matras occurs in the Inventory of J. Pulteney's effects, 25 Edw. III. Matras coopert. de carde Yndey, matras paley, matras de cirpis prec. 4 den.

³ The guest chambers were usually called after the name of some person, probably a former occupant of distinction.

⁴ John Enyver was one of the brethren of the hospital.

⁵ The Infirmary.

Item, vj table cloths of playne clothe, very olde, dailye occupied. Item, iiij towells of playne clothe, very olde. Item, iij olde dyaper clothes and ij diapre towells, with xij diaper napkins, very olde. Item, ij in woll, by estimacyon xxx quarters.

IN THE KECHYN. First, vj brasse potts, j grete ketell of coper and vij other ketells, iiij gredyrans, and x spyttys, grete and small, ij trevetts, with another grete ketell with an iron bande, xl platters, x dishes, xx sawcers, xx podyngers.¹

IN A CHEST IN THE NEWE KECHYN. First, xv grete platters of the sylver fasshon, x large disshes of the sylver fasshon, viij small disshes of the sylver fasshon. Item, vj other disshes, with the grete chargers.

IN THE MASTER'S CHAMBER. First, platters of sylver fashion vj, disshes v, podyngers xii, sawcers vi. Item of another sorte, xij platters, xij disshes.

IN THE MASTER'S STABLE. ij sorell² geldyngs, a white nag, a black nag.

IN THE STABLE FOR THE BEST CART HORSES. ij grey horses, a black horse, a sorell horse, a sorell geldyng.

IN THE SECOND STABLE. One sorell geldyng, ij grey geldyngs, j black geldyng, j white geldyng.

IN THE FERMERY. For power preystes iij bedds, for power men ix bedds, for power women ij beds.

IN THE GARDENER.³ x quarters of whete.

IN THE BRUEHOUSE. l quarters of malt, and all thyng belonging to a bruehouse.

IN THE BAKEHOUSE. All thyng and implements thereunto belonging.

IN THE BARNES. Of whete, by estimacyon, xx quarters; of barleye, by estimacyon, xxx quarters; of tares, by estimacyon, xx coppes; of heye, by estimacyon, v or vj lodes.

Catell pertaynyng to the house and being ther. Fyrst, iij mylke kyne, j bore, iij sowes, xvj lyeware, called yong hoggs.

Shepe remaynyng in ther owne hands. First, in ewys v^e di. xxiiij. Item, wethers iii^e viij. Item, teggs ii^e xlv.

¹ Podyngers, porringers. The word is spelt Podegares in the Inv. of Langley Priory, 1485.

² A sorell denoted a kind of horse, 32 Edw. III.

A corruption of garner or granary.

Shepe put out to farme. First to William Haman, of Ewell, xx ewes. Item to Thomas Peper, of Charlton, lxiii wethers. Item to John Stelman, of St. Margaretts, xxx ewes. Item to fflag, of Dudmanston, ii^c v wethers.

Catell remaynyng in Romney Marsshe. First, xx lene bullocks of Northern Ware. Item, viij contrey bullocks at the stacke. Item, iij fat oxen for the larder. Item, ij kyen. Item, iiij lene contrey bullocks. Item, viii maryes,¹ young and olde. Item, iij staggs of ii yeres age. Item, iij coltts of i yere of age. Item, j mare of ii yeres of age. Item, vj fat wethers. Item, v barens. Item, xxij lene ware. Item, teggx xxij.

Catell remaynyng at Whitfelde, beyng in their owne hands. First, xx yong oxen, xij bullocks of iij yeres of age, xij bullocks of ii yere of age, xxxv kyen, xv calvys, vii yong hoggs, j colt, coloured baye.

Redy mony left by the late master, xxiv *li.* vijs. vjd.

Sum. The weight of all sylver, one with thother, v^c xxvii uncs and di.

The weight of the masers and nuts, clix uncs.

The some of all shepe, one with another, m^{li} vi^c.

The some of all bullocks and kyen, cxix.

The same of mares and coltts, xv.

The some of horse and geldyng, xiiij.

Per me dom. Henr. Wodd; per me dom Will. Coorte; per me dom. John Burnell; per me dom. William Nowle; per me John Ewyner.²

¹ Mares.

² The master and brethren of St. Mary's Hospital, or Maison Dieu, acknowledged the supremacy Dec. 1534; their names were John Clerke, master; dom. Henry Wood, William Coorte, dom. John Burnell, dom. William Nowle, and John Ewyver. (Dep. Keeper's 8th Report, p. 285, App. ii.) It was surrendered Dec. 11, 36 Henry VIII., by Henry Wood, John Burnell, William Noole, and John Thompson. (*Ibid.* p. 19, App. ii.) The latter name is that of the master, as appears from the title of the Inventory of St. Martin's; was his alias Ewyver? John Clerke, master of the Hospital, according to Holinshed, built c. 1500, a round tower at the S.W. part of the bay, to shelter it from winds, and enable ships to lie moored to it, and this "corner" was, in consequence, called "Little Paradise." His successor, John Thomson, when Rector of St. John's in 1533, built a pier in the harbour.

II. PRIORY OF ST. MARTIN, DOVER.

The excellent plan of St. Martin's Priory contributed by Dr. Plumptre, Master of University College, Oxford, to the 'Archæologia Cantiana' (Vol. IV. p. 26), leaves those who follow him little to add; but I venture to differ from the arrangements which he has proposed, by suggesting, in conformity with examples that are well known, that the Guest House was on the west side of the Cloister, and the building northward of the Refectory was the Dormitory continued, whilst the Infirmary ran eastward from its extremity, the outer or south wall being indicated by him, and the buildings parallel to the Refectory formed the brewhouses, bake-houses, and similar adjuncts of the Monastery. The detached Guest Hall, as he calls it, I believe rather to have been the Prior's Hall.

The buildings mentioned in the Inventory are the Choir, Vestry, Prior's own Chamber, Prior's Chapel, Prior's Great Chamber, White Chamber, Prior's Inner Parlour, the Outer Parlour, Vawt for Dinner, the Buttery, Kitchen, Schoolmaster's Chambers, and R. Elam's Chamber.

An Inventory of all the Jewells, Plate, and Ornaments, belonging unto the Church of the PRYORYE OF SAINT MARTYN OF THE NEWE WORKE OF DOVER,¹ as of all other Moreable Goods within the same Pryorye belongyng, made the last day

¹ At St. Martin's New Work, a Benedictine Priory, and cell of Canterbury Cathedral, the Royal Supremacy was acknowledged Dec. 1534. by John, the Prior, Giles Springwell, dom. Thomas Vertu, dom. Robert Benit, dom. Thomas Lenan, Anthony Stowell, Christopher Lambert, dom. Antony Norborn, dom. Alexander Dover, dom. Ralph Fulwell, Thomas de la Hale, and John Thorntun. (Dep. Keeper's 8th Report, p. 285, App. ii.) It was surrendered Nov. 16, 27 Henry VIII., by John Lambert, al. Folkstone, Prior; Giles Honywood, Antony Roger, al. Norborn, Thomas Wyle, al. Vertu, Robert Talage, al. Benit, Ralph Butler, al. Falwell, John Ward, al. Thornton, and Anthony Pebworth, al. Stowell. (Dep. Keeper's Report, p. 20, App. ii.)

of October, in the xxvj yere of the Reigne of our Sovereigne Lord King Henry the VIIIth, by CRYSTOFER HALES,¹ Generall Attorney of our Sovereigne Lorde the King, and SIR JOHN TOMPSON, Master of the Masondew of Dover aforesaide, Com-myssioners thereunto assigned.

PLATE AND JEWELS IN THE QUEYRE AND VESTYERE. First, j crosse of sylver with the crucifix, Marye and John, of silver and parcell gylte. Item, ij chalics with the patents of sylver and gylte. Item, j chalice with j paten of sylver parcell gylte. Item, j senser of sylver parcell gylt. Item, j paxe of sylver and gylte with the crucifix, Marye and John, parcell gylte. Item, j shyppe² of sylver parcell gylte. Item, j small spone belongyng to the same shyppe of sylver. Item, j crewytts of sylver parcell gylte. Item, j olde relique partly covered with sylver plate, and the residewe with cooper and gylte. Item, j pyx³ of cooper and gilt, with certen reliques therein conteyned. Item, j litle dubell crosse of wood plated with sylver. Item, j basson⁴ of lattyn gylted. Item, j payre of orgaynes.

COOPES AND VESTMENTS. Item, j vestment, ij tynacles, ii coopes of blewe bawdkyn with the crosses, orfers,⁵ and borders of tyssewe, with ij olde aulbes to the same. Item, j olde vestment, ij tynacles, ij coopes with crosse, orfers, and borders of redd bawdkyn withoute aulbes. Item, ij olde vestments, ij tynacles of whyte velvet, j coope of the same velvet embrodered with redd rosses, orfers, and crosses of redd velvet without aulbes. Item, j olde coope of blewe baudekyn counterfett. Item, j vestment embrodered with crosses of golde. Item, ij olde tynacles of redd velvet without aulbes. Item, j vestment, ij tynacles with aulbes. Item,

¹ Sir Christopher Hales was a Justice of Kent, and in the commission for refounding Canterbury Cathedral. (2 Cranmer, 349, 398.) He was supposed to favour the Romanists. (Foxe's Acts, p. 1869.)

² To hold incense.

³ A pyx for the body of Christ, for reservation, was required by Gray's Constitution, 1250, c. 1.

⁴ This basin was for holding the light suspended over the altar; they are frequently mentioned in capitular statutes and inventories.

⁵ A corruption of orfrey (aurifrigium), orfrea (Low Latin), orfrais (French), the embroidered collar or border of a vestment. Ménage derives the word from "aurum Phrygium," Phrygia being famous for its excellent embroiderers.

j coope of whyte tyssew with a crosse of redd tyssewe. Item, j old vestment, ij tynacles, with aulbes thereto belonging of redd satten with crosses and borders of clothe of golde. Item, ij olde tynacles, viij coopes of red bawdkyn counterfett, with orfers of divers cullours of silke without aulbes. Item, j coope of redd tyssewe with orfre and imagery embrodered. Item, ij olde coopes of redd bawdkyn with orfre of imagery of silke embrodered. Item, j olde coope of grene bawdkyn with orfire of imagery of sylke embrodered. Item, j olde vestment, ij tynacles of grene sarsnett wrought with small rosses of golde and silke, with aulbes the same. Item, j olde vestment, ij tynacles of purper¹ silke, braunchyd, wrought, and embrodered with rings and bisshoppes hedds. Item, j olde vestment, ij tynacles of redd bawdkyn counterfett. Item, v olde aulbes, j of redd velvet wrought with rosses and leves embrodered, j other aulbe with roses, the iijrd with starres, the iiijth with imagery, branches of birds, the vth with birds and skuttchyns of arms. Item, j olde aulbe of blewe of St. Thomas Worsted.² Item, j olde aulbe of whyte velvyt, wrought and embrodered with red rosses and imagery. Item, j olde antipane³ of an awlter of werder,⁴ wrought with image of Saint Ingnacius. Item, j olde frunte of whyte bawdekyn, wrought with the imagery of the Crucifix, Mary and John. Item, j olde frynge of redd velvet of image wrought and embrodered with golde, j awter clothe to the same fyxed of diaper. Item, j olde antipane, wrought and brodered with golde and smalle sede⁵ of perles, with an awter

¹ Purple.

² Worstede manufactured first at Worsted, Norfolk, or there first brought into celebrity. In 16 Edw. II. we find the standards of the English army made of "Paunde Worstede ou Ailesham;" and in the second year of that king "2 ulni Bargee de Worthested" were bought for the shoes of "Lord Henry and his sister."

³ Ante-pane, the frontal, from Latin *ante* and *pannus*.

⁴ Verdour, a hanging representing trees rather than figures.

⁵ Sede, seeded, or powdered. So we find "cyphum deauratum et seminatium de aymall" among the king's valuables, Jan. 22. (2 Edw. III.) These pearles were probably beads or artificial pearls, such as Edward II. ordered for Compeyre, the minstrel of Sir Henry de Suley, when 20,000 perles vermaleis cost only 6s. 8d.; gilt perles for the figure of a leopard, black pearles for "purfiland," and pearls "Indieis et albis pro restris et ungulis et oculis" of the animal (16 Edw. II.); the workwomen were called "perlatrices." Pearls of damask gold occur in a tailor's bill. (1 Edw. VI.)

clothe of diaper fyxed. Item, ij olde awter clothes coarse of diaper. Item, ij olde curtyns of whyte sarsnett frenged with sylke. Item, j canapy of blewe bawdekyn frynged with sylke of divers culers. Item, viij olde clothes plane. Item j pell¹ of counterfett red bawdekyn. Item, iij olde grene palls of silke. Item, v cushyons of tawny sarcenet, peced and embrodered with starres. Item, j olde pece of Brugs satten, with ij yeardes with a frynge of sylke of cullers at one ende. Item, iij olde frunts for awters, paynted. Item, ij olde small tables, paynted with imagery. Item, vj olde corporaces of divers cullors silke, with vij kurchers² to the same. Item, j quarterne of olde blacke Brugs satten, embrodered with the Crucifix, Mary and John, fringed with sylke of divers culers. Item, iij olde square chestes, iij coffers. Item, iij olde staves, paynted for the rectors.³ Item, iij paire of olde candillsticks of lattyn, whereof ii be broken, and v other small candilsticks. Item, an olde shryne, paynted.

IN THE PRIOR'S OWNE CHAMBER. j olde hangyng of grene and red saye, j olde tester, ij curteyns of saye, j fether bedd, j bolster, ij pyllows, ij pillow cots, j pare of shets, j pare of fustian blanketts, j coverlett of grene verder,⁴ j trundull bedstedd, j olde fether bedd, j bolster, j pare of shets, j olde coverlett of tappstreye, j Turkye⁵ carpett, with iij yeards and di., ij olde cuyshons of grene verder, ij cuysshens of imagery, j chest of waynscott without locke, ij olde table clothes of

¹ A pall, used for a covering. A pall was held over Queen Elizabeth at her "anointing." Here it means a frontal, a square piece of linen cloth covering the altar and hanging down from it.

² Kurcher, another form of kerchief. Milton uses the expression "kerchiefed in a comely cloud." In the *Wardrobe Accompt*, 29 Hen. VI., we find *Handekerverchief*, *Hedekerverchief*, and *Kemmingkerchief*; and in 31 Edw. III., 2 *Kerchyfes pro cap. Regis* (*i. e.* David Bruce) *involvend*. *Kercher* must have been the English word for the modern *burse*.

³ The rectors of the choir, who walked up and down beating time with their staffs to the chant.

⁴ The parlour of R. Fermer, of London, was hung with green verder (32 Henry VIII.), and the Duke of Northumberland (1 Mary) had 8 cloths of verdures to hang under windows.

⁵ Turkey carpets occur in the *Inventory of John, Duke of Northumberland* (1 Mary), a Turkey gown of black velvet was brought for the Princess Mary (1 Edw. VI.), and cloth of gold in silk of Turk occurs in *Wardrobe Accounts of Edw. III.*

dyaper, j towell of dyaper,¹ ij coverpaynes of dyaper, iij shets, j olde shyppe cheste² without locke, j square cheste with a locke, j small coffer with a locke, v small olde paynted clothes of imagery, iij lytle awnders³ of iron, ij pare of tonggs, j rake of iron, j great bell candylsticke of lattyn, half the bybille written in parchement, with vij other small books.

IN THE CHAPPELL NEXT TO THE PRIOR'S CHAMBER. ij olde masse-books, ij images of white alleebaster, j desk, j saking bell.⁴

IN THE GREATE CHAMBER. j olde cheste without a locke, conteynyng in yt certen evidences and books, j coveryng of a cuyshon, j beddsted, j fether bedd, j bolster, j pare of shets, j coverlet of verder, j teaster over the bedd stayned with red saye, j hangyng of stayned red saye, j fourme, j chest without a locke, j bancker⁵ clothe of verder of viij yeards in length, j quylte, i cuysshon of verder, j olde settyll.

IN THE WHYTE CHAMBER.⁶ j olde hangyng with stained clothes, j teaster of a bedd, stayned, j fetherbedd, j small bolster, ij pyllowes with pyllow beres,⁷ j pare of shets, j coverlett of

¹ Diaper, a linen cloth woven in pattern.

² Ship-cheste, the coffer to contain an incense-boat. The word occurs in a description of St. Richard's Shrine in Chichester Cathedral, as containing relics and rings.

³ Andirons. The word occurs as aundyrans pro camino prec. 10 Sol. in 25 Edw. III. In the time of James I., Alderman More had a pair of andirons with a fire shovel, tongs, and capperne, all brass, with a pair of creepars, value £4.

⁴ Sacring-bell. The sacring (from sacrer, to consecrate) was the elevation of the Host. The second sacring was crossing the chalice with the Host. "The boy or parish clerk rings the little sacry bell which biddeth the people lay all things aside now and lift up their heads, kneel down and worship." (Becon, iii. 166.) It is often confounded with the saunce or sanctus bell. "When the priest sped him to say his service, to ring the saunce bell, and speak out aloud, 'Pater Noster,' by which token the people were commanded silence, reverence, and devotion." (Jewel, i. 292.) The bell used to "ring out of matins to mass." (2 Hooper, 146.) In many parts of Middlesex the bell rings now after Morning Prayer.

⁵ Banker, baunker, banquer. Hangings of apartments, occurring in the Coronation Accompts of Richard II., and in the time of Henry VI. bankers of arras, and in Queen Isabel's Inventory we find Banquers de panno awri cum bordur, quartill. de armis Angl. et Franc., and in the 17th century, bankers de verdure occur. (Booke of New Rates, 2 Jas. I.)

⁶ The White Chamber or White Hall in mediæval times was always the best room or lodging, as Whitehall at Westminster.

⁷ Pillow beres occur in the Wardrobe Accompt, 12 Hen. VI.

verder, j turned chere with a cusschon,¹ j basson with an ewar of lattyn, one towell, j coverlyt of old tapstaye, ij bell candlesticks of lattyn, i pottyll potte of pewtar without a cover, j rounde table, j chare of lether frynged, with j cusschon of verder, j joyne stoole, j chamber potte of pewtar, j chest without a locke.

IN THE PRIOR'S INNER PARLOURE. j olde hanging, stayned with grene saye, ij cubbords, j table with tressells, ij fourmes, ij turned chares, j pare of olde awnderns.

IN THE OWTER PARLOUR.² j olde hangyng, stayned with antyke,³ j table with a pare of tressells, and ij fourmes.

IN THE VAWT⁴ WHERE THE MONCKES DO DYNE. j olde table, j fourme, j cusschon of verder, j booke of the Bybyll wrytten.

IN THE BUTTRYE NEXTE TO THE SAME VAWTE WHERE THE MONCKES DO USE TO DINE. j salte of sylver parcell gylte with a cover to the same, vj sylver sponnes with wreethed knoppes gylted, ij old playne table clothes, ij olde playne towells, iij napkyns playne, j basson and j ewar of pewtar, iij bell candillsticks, j smalle lampe, v chaffyndyshes of latten.

IN THE KYTTCHYN. ij olde chargers of pewter, xiiij platters of pewtar, xij disshes of pewtar, xii sawsars of pewtar whereof iij of them be garnyshed after the newe fashon, vij porryngers of pewetar, iij brasse potts, iij brasse pans, j kettyll of brasse, j chaffer of brasse, j old ffrying pan, j dryppying pan of iron, j tryvett, iij square spyttis, j rounde spytt, j pare of racks of iron, j lattyn ladyll, j lattyn scumar, j olde mortar with a pestell of brasse, ij pare of old potthooks, j gretherne of iron.

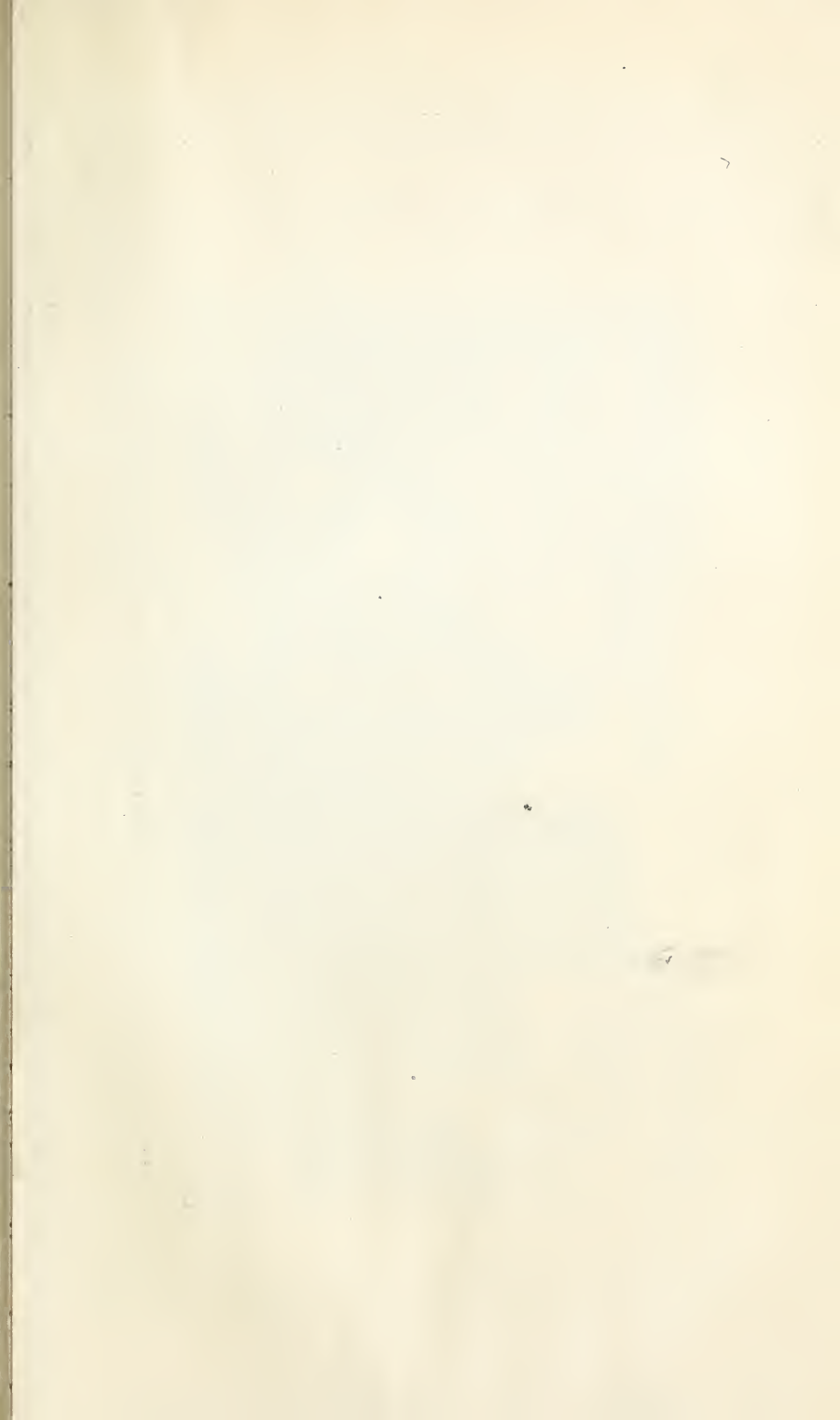
IN THE HANDS OF JOHN WHALLEY, GENTLEMAN. j bedstedd, ij carpets of verder, j conteyning iij yeards and the other ij yeards and di., ij cusschons of verder, j olde cusschon, j table with tressells, j joyne stole, ij olde furmes, j testar over the bedde of verder, ij pare of shets, ij pyllowes with ij pyllocots, j bolstar, j great bedd of downe, j greate materes, the

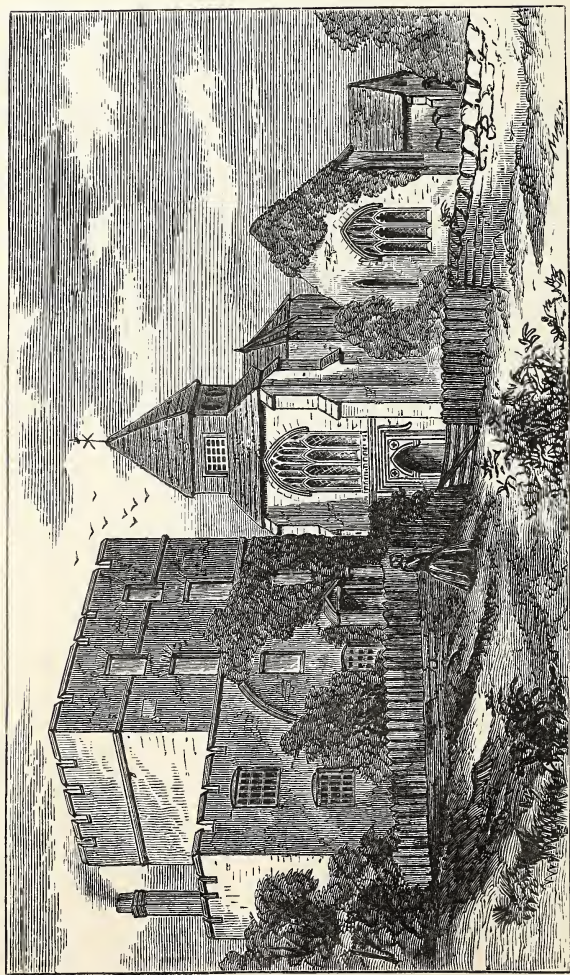
¹ Turned chairs are mentioned in distinction to close chairs. (Bury Wills. 101.)

² The Forensic Parlour, where guests were received by the Hostillar, and the Minuti or Monks who had been bled, sat.

³ Grotesques.

⁴ Vawt, the Refectory. The ordinary eating room at Durham, was called the Loft.





CHURCH AND GATEHOUSE, MINSTER IN SHEPEY, FROM A DRAWING BY THE REV. M. E. C. WALCOTT.

hangyngs of a great chamber of grene saye, j old basson of pewtar.

IN THE SCOLE MASTER'S CHAMBER. j olde fetherbedd, j bolstar, j pare of shets, j coverlett.

IN RICHARD ELAM CHAMBER. j olde fetherbedd, j bolstar, ij pare of shets, j coverlett.

CERTEN PARCELLS PLATE TO CERTEN PARSONS IMPLEGED. j pyx of sylver and gylte impleged to Thomas Mansell, of Dover, Bocher, for vij^{li}, j cote for an image of St. Thomas, garnyshed with divers broches, rynges, and other jewells, impleged to Robert Malyn for

STORE OF FERMES. In the hands of one William Thorall, fermer, of Perrding Lowe, c weders, c ewes, xij kyne, j bulle, x quarters of whete, x quarters of barley; in the hands of Robert Malyn, fermer, of Guston, ij c. ewyes. Store of cattell in the possession of the said Pryour, ij small lene oxen, j ram.

III. PRIORY OF MINSTER, IN SHEPEY.

Minster Church stands on rising ground, about three miles from Sheerness, and commands a grand view over the Isle of Shepey, the Nore, the Essex coast, and the hills of Kent. It consists of two aisles: the southernmost was the parish church, having its own porch; and the northern formed the Nuns' choir, to which the lower portion of a western tower of great size, and with double buttresses, lends importance. On either side of this tower is a semi-octagonal stair turret or buttress; one having been used by the parish bell-ringer, and the other, a newel staircase, by the conventual sacristan's servant, to chime the hours. The west window is Perpendicular, of four lights, with tracery in the head, in a miserable state of decay; beneath it is an embattled stringcourse along the sill, and below this is the western doorway, with shafts and many mouldings; the spandrils are filled with quatrefoils, containing severally a rose, and a shield in which the lines of a chevron are

faintly discernible. The fine eastern arch of the tower is now blocked up.

The interior is of four bays; in the arcade are fine pillars, the central one being round, and the rest octagonal, with well-moulded bases and capitals of the Early English period. On the capitals of the pillars in the chancel is foliage of the conventional form of the Decorated style, as seen in crockets; on the eastern pier is a coat-of-arms—on a chevron 3 estoilles. The inner arch of the south porch is of two orders, round-headed, and with good mouldings and shafts, transitional Norman. The font is Perpendicular and octagonal. The east end of the Nuns' aisle has a good Perpendicular parclose, and in the east wall is a door of the same period, with a hood-mould terminating in masks, pierced through a pointed arcade on the outside. It may have communicated with the Lady chapel. The Parish Aisle is probably that mentioned as St. Katharine's Aisle. The lower portion of the Perpendicular roodscreen remains perfect in the Parish Aisle, which retains three lancets with rere arches; and in the chancel a trefoil-headed drain in the south wall, and an aumbrey in the east wall. The windows in the Nuns' Aisle are coupled cinquefoiled lights under a square head. The eastern end has been converted into a schoolroom, and is lighted by two windows of the same period. Three large buttresses relieve the monotonous effect of the north side of this portion of the church. On the eastern wall are portions of flint-work. At the west end of the Parish Aisle are two windows, one a lancet, and the other Perpendicular, of three lights.

In the arch between the Nuns' choir and parish chancel is a panelled high tomb of Bethersden marble for Sir Thomas Cheney, K.G., d. Dec. 1559.

On the south side of the Parish Chancel is a panelled tomb, and effigy, under a fine Decorated canopy, with

seven cinquefoiled cusps, to Sir Robert de Shurland, Warden of the Cinque Ports in the reign of Edward I.

In front of the altar-platform, two brasses, of Sir John de Northwode and his wife (Badlesmere), *c.* 1330.

In the Nuns' Choir.—An effigy in armour of the sixteenth century, dug up in 1833. An effigy of a "Spanish General," on a panelled tomb, and within a richly panelled wall recess. He is called Signor Germona, who commanded the land forces of the Spanish Armada, and died a prisoner on board the guardship at the Nore. Here also are a statue of the Virgin and Holy Child; two early stone coffin-lids, one with a cross; and a coffin of stone, with a trefoil recess for the head.

Westward of the tower stands detached a battlemented gatehouse, with a smaller building on its western side, both now converted into rooms. On the south front are traces of the great arch of the gateway, and in the south wall is the head of a broad round-headed arch. The newel staircase remains perfect on the same side, within a square buttress turret. The parapet has ornamental stone-work with alternate little squares of flint. The windows are single cinquefoiled lights, within oblong cases; the east and southern walls of the base court, with a few buttresses, may be traced, as well as the southern wall of the convent garden. A pump in the garden occupies the site of the kitchen well; the domestic buildings of the monastery stood on the north side of the church, and the cloister garth still presents smooth sward. A slender expense, devoted to excavations round it, would no doubt reveal the foundations of the walls of the refectory, dormitory, chapter-house, and cellarage, of which, at present, not the slightest vestige is to be found. As at Canterbury Cathedral, Dover New Work, Chester, Bury, Sherborne, Gloucester,

etc., the conventual buildings were on the north side of the church.

The Minster is said to have contained ten nuns and a prioress at the dissolution, when it was valued at £127. 7s. 10d. a year. The site of the cloisters was granted, 29 Henry VIII., to Sir Thomas Cheney. In the gift of the Abbey were St. Mary's, Gillingham, with Mary Magdalen Chapel, Lidsing; St. James', Grain; St. Bartholomew's, Bobbing; and Holy Trinity, Queenborough.

INVENTORY taken at the MONASTERIE OF S. SYXBOROUGH,¹ in the Ile of Shepey, in the Countie of Kent, by SYR THOMAS CHEYNEY,² SYR WILLIAM HAWLE KNYGHTS, and ANTONY SENTHEGER, ESQUYER,³ the xxvii day of Marche, in the xxvij^{the} yere of our Sovereigne Lorde Kyng Henrye the viij, of the goods and catall belongyng to the sayde monastery.

THE CHURCH. Fyrst, in the upper part of the quyer, j pyx of silver parcell (gilt) with the sypers⁴ for the same, and j pyx sylver and gylt with . . . ryngs thereon, j crosse of silver gylt with the Crucyfyx, Mary and John silver and gilt, sokketyd for a staffe, iij chaleses sylver and gylt, and j chalys of silver parcell gylt, ij sensers of sylver parcell gylt, ij

¹ The Monastery of St. Mary and Sexburga, or Le Minstre, founded c. 675, which had been burned by the Danes, was restored by William Corboyl, Archbishop of Canterbury, c. 1130. It is three miles from Sheerness. For notices of it, see Grose, *Antiq.* ii.; *Gent. Mag.* June 1786, Oct. 1798, and Stothard's *Monum. Effigies*. A marble effigy of a knight of the fifteenth century, exhumed in 1833, is now preserved in the church. (*Archæol. Journ.* vi. 351-8.)

² Sir Thomas Cheyney, K.G. (Pat. 32 Hen. VIII.) had a grant of the site, Nov. 12, 29 Hen. VIII.; he was buried with a pompous funeral on the south side of the north chancel aisle. He was Warden of the Cinque Ports, Treasurer of the Household, and Governor of Rochester. He died Dec. 20, 1558, and was buried Jan. 1. (*Machyn's Diary*, 184.) His son, Lord Cheyney, died childless in 1587, after having squandered all his estates. (*Hasted*, ii. 6627.)

³ Sir Anthony St. Leger, of Ulcomb, was Gentleman of the Chamber to Henry VIII., Sheriff of Kent, Deputy of Ireland, and K.G.; he died at Leeds Castle, March 12, 1559. (*Ibid.* 475.)

⁴ Sypers, cloth of Cyprus.

cruetts of sylver parcell gylt, j pax of sylver parcell gylt, j basen for the aulter of sylver parcell gylt, j silver pece to serve in the church. *Upon the high aulter*, ij alter clothes of lynyn, j front for above, and another for byneth of lynen, with crossys red and blew for the Lent, j paynted clothe of the Resurrectyon to hang afore *the Rode over the high aulter*, a front against the aulter of tymber gylt, an olde pawle for the front of the aulter, ij narrow pendants fryngyd with silke and armes embrodered thereon, ij lynyn corteyns for the sydes of the altar, xij candlestyks for wax greate and small in the quyer, a greate deske with an egle of tymber gyltyd, i greate LENT CLOTHE of lynyn to draw overthwart¹ the quyer in the Lent, j small deske of tymber. *In the nether part of the quyer*, ij aulter clothes of dyaper, j good and one bad, ij payntyd clothes for the same aulter, and j payntyd aulter clothe of damaske worke, v images greate and small of tymber gylt, j image of our Ladye in alblaster, j greate candelstyke of latynn, a pere of portatyves,² an olde deske of tymber, with a deske clothe payntyd with the ymage of our Ladye. *In the shrine of tymber gilt*, ij altar dyaper clothes good, and ij playn, a front for an alter of grene satyn brydges embroderyd with gold a fote brode, and the lenketh³ of the aulter; in the sayde shryne j lytyll cofer of tymber gylt, and another lytyll shryne of tymber gylt, and another lytyll shryne of tymber gylt full of olde relyks in purses of sylke, j lytyll playne cofer of wirye with lyke relyks, a box of bone with lyke relyks, an olde sleve of S. Syxborow⁴ with xviii

¹ Lent-cloth, usually called the veil, "velum quadragesimale." (Gray's Constit. 1250. c. 1. Peckham, 1281. c. 27. Winchelsey, 1305. c. 4.) This curtain was drawn across between the choir and sanctuary in Lent on all week days, until the Wednesday in Holy Week, except on certain stated occasions. [Usus Ord. Cisterc. P. 1, c. xv.] The treasurer of York found the Lent veil with its cords. (Stat. 1254. c. xi.)

² Portatives, *i. e.* portatiles, portable or hand-candlesticks.

³ *I. e.* Length.

⁴ St. Sexburga was niece of St. Hilda, and sister of St. Ethelburga and St. Etheldreda and St. Withburga. She married Ercombert, King of Kent, and on his death founded this nunnery at Sheppey, with a College for seventy-seven novices or pupils. Her daughter, Ermenilda, was the first Abbess; and she herself succeeded her sister St. Etheldreda, as Abbess of Ely, 679. St. Werburga, of Chester, was the daughter of Ermenilda. (Monast. Anglic. 2nd edit. 88.)

pees of sylver therein, ij hangyngs of verders for the sydes of the quyer with armes of the Norwods for the whole lenketh of the quyer, ij bokes with ij sylver clapses the pece, and vj bokes with one sylver clasp a pece, l bokes good and bad, a clothe for the prioric's sette verders with whyte rosys.

THE VESTRYE. An old pax of tymber covered with silver and set with olde stones, iiij alter clothes of dyaper with a parror¹ of blewe velvet, ij alter clothes for above and benethe, and lyllyes of red and yelow saye, ij cortens of rede sylke for the same, a surples for a prest, a lytyll curtyn of sylke, and a coveyng of blewe velvet for a cusschon, and another cussshyn of blewe velvet and sylke, a crosse clothe of sarcenet payntyd, ij payntyd alter clothes of lynyn and corteyns of the same, a cowntorpaynt of verder and another of corse tapstrye to lay afore the aulter, a cope of coper bawdkyn and j cope of silke bawdekyn olde, a cope of red silke sendall,² a vestment with the albe, and apparell of white bustyan for Lent, a clothe to bare over the sacrament, of coper bawkekyn, vij bokes, whereof j goodly mase boke of parchement, and dyvers other good bokes, a payre of latyn censors, and a shyp of latyn to the same.

S. KATHERYNE'S ILE. An olde alter clothe of dyaper, a front for the *altar of S. Katheryne*, of alblastar, ij rode clothes, one of crymsyn velvet, and another red sylke, and

OUR LADY CHAPELL. ij olde alter clothes of dyaper, ij fronts for above and benethe of tymber well payntyd, an olde alter clothe payntyd and corteyns of the same, a vestment with the albe and apparell of whyte fustyan embrodered, a payntyd table of our Ladye in the *lytyll chapell* there, ij coverletts for to lay afore the alter j of olde verder and the other of woven worke new, iij carpetts more of olde tapstrey and j

¹ Parure, apparel (*parare*, to ornament), a fringe or border; the amice and albe often had apparels at the wrist and feet, ornamental cuffs and squares of embroidery; the usual term is orfrey, aurifrigia, orfroy.

² Sendal, often written cendall. It was used for quilts, as in the Inventory of Sir John Pulteney, the wealthy lord mayor of London, "1 quilt coopert de viridi cynedall ornat. de fleurs de lys; 1 quilt coopert de Ynd cendall ornat. de garbis glaucis" (25 Edw. III.); for the banners of a processional cross "vexillo de sendello rub." (20 Edw. III.); and for mattresses "un matrez de cendal Inde," part of a bed furniture given by Edw. III. to Lady Alianor de Clare. (May 25, 35 Edw. I.) It was probably a kind of taffeta.

of coverlet, makyng xxii flower de lice¹ and xj flowers embroidered of luks² gold on canvas, iij carpet cussens and ij of red sylke, olde iiij olde tapstry clothes with Norwod's³ armes for the knelyng stols, and an olde bankar of red and blew tapstre, a branche candelstike of latyn of v lyghts, and a hangyng lampe of latyn therein, a presse of wode; iij good alter clothes of dyaper with ij parrors, j of crymsyn velvet, embroderyd, and the other of olde sylke; a vestment with an albe, and apparell for the dekon and subdekon of bawdekyn, gold and sylke whyte; and another corser vestement of whyte bawdekyn; another vestement, with albe and apparell for a dekon, of blew bawdekyn, sylke and golde; another vestment with albe and apparell for a prest, dekon and subdekon of red damask, embroderyd wyth gold; another vestment with albe and apparell for a preest and dekon of coper gold bawdekyn; another vestment with albe and apparell for a prest, of olde bawdekyn of sylke; another vestment of grene satyn breges,⁴ embroderyd with albe and apparell for a prest; another vestment of red sendall with albe and apparell for a prest; another vestment of blake velvet, with albe and apparelle for a preste, and an albe and dekon (*sic*) of blake saye; a cofer with stuf belongyng to *S. Jhons Chapell in the churche yarde*, standyng⁵ in the sayde chapell

¹ Fleur de Lice. The ordinary derivation of the word, fleur de lys, or S. Louis, is plainly contradicted by this spelling, which appears as "flos deliciarum" for the flowers in the arms of France among the Wardrobe compts of Edw. III.

² Probably gold of Lucca, as gold of Venice is subsequently mentioned. Gold and silver of Cyprus were bought for the royal wardrobe. (12 Hen. VI.) One pound of Cyprus gold cost 40s. (25 Edw. III.)

³ The Norwoods of Northwood lived in the Isle of Shepey. Their manor was alienated to the Warners, who sold it to Sir Thomas Cheney. (Hasted, ii. 663.) There is a beautiful cross-legged brass to Sir John de Northwode, Sheriff of Kent, knighted by Edward I. at the siege of Caerlaverock, and summoned to Parliament 6-12 Edw. II. His arms are (erm.) a cross engrailed (gu.) between twelve chestnut leaves. There is also a brass to his wife, Joan de Badlesmere, of Leeds Castle, c. 1330. His ancestor, Roger de Northwode, who served at Acre with Richard I., and his wife, Anna, are buried here. (Stothard, 50.) Sir R. de Shurland's effigy is also engraved by Stothard, p. 38.

⁴ Bruges, rich tissue made in the Low Countries.

⁵ It is mentioned as in the cemetery in 1488. At Bury St. Edmund's there were several chapels in the churchyard; this chapel may have served either as the chapel of the charnel or of the guest chambers.

of our Ladye, ij staynyd hangyngs of the Lyfe of S. John ; iij alter clothes payntyd, and ij corteysns thereunto ; iij alter clothes of dyaper with ij parrars of sylke, j vestment with albe and apparell for a preste, of blewe and grene bawdekyn ; another vestment with lyke aparell of corse bawdekyn ; another vestment with lyke aparell of corsered bawdekyn ; ij olde myters for S. Nycholas,¹ of fustyan, brodered ; a cope of rede bawdekyn ; a halfe arme² and a hand of wod covered with sylver, an olde presse full of old boks of no valew.

THE BODY OF THE CHURCH.³ ij fronts of alblaster, and ij of tymber payntyd, ix images of alblaster, vj greate images payntyd and iij small, a payntyd clothe afore the rode lofte so long as the rode lofte, iiij alter clothes of dyaper whereof ij good, and a lytyll sylke cusschen.

THE GREATE CHAMBER IN THE DORTER.⁴ v alter clothes of dyaper very good and ij parrars thereunto, j of whyte damaske brodered and the other grene sarcenet broderyd, ij playne alter clothes with ij parrars to the same of bawdekyn, ij howselyng towells⁵ of dyaper good, vi corteysns of sylke of dyvers colors for the alters, j lectourne clothe of dyaper and j of sylke for the quyer, x pawles of bawdkyn of dyvers colors, ij hangyng clothes for the alters of good bawdkyn of dyvers colors, a crosse clothe of sarcenet of vj colors with the image of S. Syxborowe broderyd thereon, a pyx of byrall set in sylver and gylt with relyks therein set with stonys, another small

¹ On St. Nicholas' Day the choristers elected a boy bishop, who held office till Holy Innocents' Day. (See 'William of Wykeham and His Colleges,' p. 205.)

² Probably, a reliquary.

³ *I. e.* the Nave.

⁴ At Whalley the vestments were kept in the Revestry next unto the Library, and a little Revestry next unto the Gallery, the "Standards," or best vestments, being in the Church. (MS. Invent. 310, fo. 182, 183.) Here the dormitory contained a Treasury, and the chambers of the Sub-Prioress and eight nuns, no doubt divided by parceloses or screens into their separate cells.

⁵ Houselling towels; four towels were required (Lyndw. de Consec. Dist. ii. c. 27) ; but Archbishop Winchelsey ordered a frontal or pall, and three towels (1305, c. 4). Housel is another form of the old Norsk husl, like the Latin 'hostia,' the Host, the Holy Eucharist. Howselling people were communicants (Athelstan's Laws Eccles. 925. c. 5). A white cloth is still spread on the altar rails at Wimborne Minster, and until a recent period, women carried their prayer books to church in a white handkerchief, which was a relic of the houselling cloth.

pyx of sylver and parcell gylt with a relyke of St. Thomas of Canterbury, another lytyll sylver pyx with relyks and another of horne set in sylver, iiij small crosses of sylver and gylt set with stones, a bone of S. Blase set in sylver and gylt with stones, a lytill coffer of ivory bownde with sylver and gylt, and therein a lytill cofer of sylver parcell gylt, xi owches¹ of sylver and some gylt with relyks therein, a sygnet of sylver and a lytill botell of coper and gylt, x corporassys of velvet brodere and sylke and ix corporass clothes, a lector table of ivorye fynely wrowght and another of tymber wel (paynted), j vestment for a decon and subdecon, embrodered of golde of venys² and s(ylver), a vestment with albe and apparell for the preste, decon, and s(subdecon) of blew velvet broderyd with sterrys of gold; another vestment with like apparell for a prest, decon, and (subdecon) of grene and red bawdekyn; another of red sendall, wrought with golde and nedle wo(rke), j fyne albe with all the apparell to the same, of very fyne embroderyng and no vestment, the worke for the hed set with st(onys); another vestment with albe and apparell for a prest, decon, and subdecon of bawdkyn of coper, gold, and sylke; another with lyke apparel for a prest, decon, and subdecon of bawdkyn blewe and tawnye; another vestment with albe and apparell for the same prest and decon of blewe bawdkyn with faucons of gold; another vestment with albe and apparell for the preste only of olde russet bawdekyn, iiij peces of cote armers embroderyd, ij stoles embroderyd and one of red sendall for the sepulchre,³

¹ A kind of brooch.

² Venice gold occurs in a tailor's bill of the Princess Mary (1 Edw. VI.), and a Venetian cap, chased bullion-wise, belonged to the Duke of Northumberland. (1 Mar.)

³ The sepulchre was a wall-recess, an altar-like tomb, as at Lincoln Cathedral and Hackington, or a temporary structure, in which the Crucifix was laid from the end of Mass on Good Friday, to the dawn of Easter morning. At Lichfield a light was kept burning before it. Watchers also were appointed. At Wells there was "j cereus in Sepulchro cum Corpore Dominico qui continue ardebit donec Matutinæ cantentur in die Paschæ. (MS. Harl. 1682, fo. 5.) The monastic rule was "Sit in unâ parte altaris, quâ vacuum fuerit, quædam assimilatio sepulchri, velamenque quoddam in extensum, in quo Sancta Crux deponatur in Parasceve et custodiatur usque dominicam noctem Resurrectionis, nocte verò ordinentur ij fratres aut iij aut plures qui ibidem psalmos decantando excubias fideles exercent." (Monastic. i. p. 39. Comp. Martene de Ant. Mon. Rit. iv. 141.)

ij square chests belongyng to the church. Stuff in the same chamber belonging to DAME AGNES DAVYE, which she browghite with her; a square sparver of payntyd clothe and iiij peces hangyng of the same, iij payre of shets, a cownter-poynt of corse verder and j square cofer of ashe, a cabord of waynscott carved, ij awndyrons, a payre of tonges, and a fyer panne.

DAME AGNES BROWNE'S CHAMBER. Stuff given her by her frends:—a fetherbed, a bolster, ij pyllowys, a payre of blankatts, ij corse coverleds, iiij pare of shets good and badde, an olde tester and selar¹ of paynted clothes and ij peces of hangyng to the same; a square cofer carvyd, with ij bad clothes upon the cofer, and in the wyndow a lytill cobard of waynscott carvyd and ij lytill chestes; a small goblet with a cover of sylver parcell gylt, a lytill maser² with a bryme of sylver and gylt, a lytyll pece of sylver and a spone of sylver, ij lytyll latyn candellstyks, a fire panne and a pare of tonges, ij small aundyrons, iiij pewter dysshes, a porrenger, a pewter bason, ij skyllots,³ a lytill brasse pot, a cawdyron,⁴ and a drynkyng pot of pewter.

DAME MARGARET [. . .]OCKS CHAMBER. A matres, a bolster, ij pyllowys, a pere of blanketts, ij pere of shets, a coverlet of verdors, and a meane cheste of waynscott, a sprewe⁵ cofer, a box covered with lether, a cobbord of waynscott, ij small candelstyks, and the chamber hangyng of payntyd papers,⁶ a pynt pot of pewter, a wyndow clothe of bokram, a pewter dysshe, a porrynger of pewter, a drynkyng crewes⁷, a lytyll goblet of pewter.

DAME DOROTHE TOPLYVE'S CHAMBER. ij peces of payntyd clothys for the hangyng, a fetherbed, a bolster, a pillow, a

¹ Selar, celura, the hanging of a bed, or a covered seat.

² Maser, a maple cup or bowl often mounted with silver, and bound with rings of the same metal.

³ Skyllott, a small pot with a long handle.

⁴ Cawdyron, caudron, caldron.

⁵ Spruce-fir.

⁶ Paynted papers, the earliest instance of papering a room. Pyne, in his 'Royal Residences' under Kensington, remarks:—"On the walls of this drawing-room the new art of paper-hangings in imitation of the old velvet flock was displayed with an effect that soon led to the adoption of so cheap and elegant a manufacture." (Vol. ii. p. 74.) Flock velvet was invented in the seventeenth century. (Beckmann, vol. ii. p. 152.)

⁷ A cruse.

blanket, ij corse coverletts, iiij payre of shets whereof j pere broken, a casket coveryd with lether.

DAME ANNE LOVEDEN'S CHAMBER. A fetherbed, a bolster, ij pillowys, a payre of blanketts, ij corse coverletts whereof j belongyng to S. Jhon's chapell, iiij payre of shets and a shyp-chest.

DAME ELIZABETH STRADLYNGE'S CHAMBER. A fetherbed, a bolster, ij pyllowes, a pere of blankettes, ij corse coverletts, v payre of shets good and bade and an olde clothe in the wyndowe, iiij peres of paynted hangyngs, a cobbard of waynscott, ij chests of waynscott and a lytyl cofer coveryd with lether, a sylver sponer, a platter of pewter, a lytyll posenett, a skyllett pan, and a lytyll sylke cushyn.

DAME ANNE CLIFFORD'S CHAMBER. iiij peces of paynted clothes for the hangyngs of the chamber, a fetherbed, a bolster, a pillow, a payre of blanketts, ij payre of shets whereof j bad and an olde coverlet of tapestrey broken, a cobbard of wainscot, a chest of waynscot, a candelstyck of latyn, a small nut with the fote, brimme, and cover of sylver, a table with a crucyfyx of wod payntyed, and an image of our Lady, payntyd).

DAME MARGARET RYVERS¹ CHAMBER. A fetherbed, a bolster, a pyllow, a payre of blanketts, a cov(erlett), ij payre of shets, ij lytyll cofers, a payntyed clothe upon the cubbor(d), a cushen of carpet worke, a lytill candelstyck of la(ten).

DAME URSULA GOSBORNE SUPPRIOR'S CHAMBER. iiij peres of payntyed hangyngs, a testar, a selar of blewe b(awdekyn) with corteyns of the same, a fetherbed, a bolster, a pyllow, a payre of blanketts, a corse verder and ij payre of shets, a cobbard of waynscott, a table of the crucyfyx payntyed . . . square chest and ij lytill olde cofers, a payre of cobyrons, a fyerrake, a fyerforke, a payre of tonges and a spy . . . , a lytyll pewter basen, and a lytyll candelstyke of laten.

THE FRAYTER. A lytyll flat pece of sylver, j maser with bryme of sylver gylt, viii small spones of sylver whereof j broken, vi olde platters, j dysse, v porryngers of pewter and a lytill salt, v nose candelstyckks² and ij pryke candelstycks, iiij latyn

¹ Alice Rivers was Abbess in 1511. (Cole, MS. xxvi. fo. 201, b.)

² Nose Candlesticks. In 28 Hen. VI. occurs an entry pro 1 naso candelabri; hence the word nozzle.

basons and ij olde chafyng dyshes of latyn, a lytyll pot and a byggar, a posnet¹ of brasse, a small grydeyron, a lytill spyt, a payre of awndyrons, a payre of tongs and a brasse chafer, an olde table with ij foldyng lefys, viii borde clothes of dyaper, and iiij playne, iiij dyaper towells, and iiij playne, j cobbard clothe dyaper, and v playne napkyns, vj corse cushyns broken, and an old bankar broken, an olde cubbard, and an olde chest, a lytell frayter bell², and ij turnyd chayres.

THE HALL.³ ij dormaunt tables,⁴ and a long table with trestells at the hygh deske, olde hangyngs of red and grene saye all broken, a borde and a carpet of corse verder, vj olde formys, an olde chayer coveryd with lether, a grete awndyron for the herthe, ij olde cobbards, a beame candelstyke, syx bolles of latyn to the same, an olde clothe of red and yellow saye for one of the cobbards, a greate drawnet, and ij greate powltery basketts,⁵ with a hoke of yron.

THE PARLOUR. A foldyng table, a cownter table⁶, an olde forme, ij turnyd chayres, ij borde carpets of verders, and another for the cownter of olde corse verder, broken, ij bankars of the same, j bancar of red woollen, iiij carpet cushens, iiij of verders, a wynddow clothe of red saye, a deske to wryte on, a cobbard of weeynscot with locks and alme-ryes, a table of the Epephanye in oyle color, iiij staynyd clothes of the Crucyfyx and our Lady with one greate glasse, a lytyll clocke⁷, a boke of Saynts lyfes, a lyttlyl⁸ rownde

¹ In Pulteney's Inventory, 25 Edw. III., we find the entry, *pro possinet æneis*; a *poscenett* occurs among the goods of Sandal Castle, 1322.

² The Frater bell, or skylla, was hung above the president's seat, on her right-hand at the high table, to announce the beginning and end of dinner.

³ Dormaunt table, a fixed table at the end of the hall, the principal table.

⁴ This was the Calefactory, containing a fireplace or common room of the convent.

⁵ Poultry, a coop for fowls.

⁶ Cownter, for accompts; counters were used to represent sums of money.

⁷ The Duke of Northumberland, in the reign of Edw. VI., had a clock of crystal, garnished with silver and gilt, and a fair clock of copper and gilt, with six bells in a chime, the clock being three quarters high. At Lincoln, in 1324, Thomas de Luda, the treasurer, gave a clock to the cathedral, as they were customary in other cathedrals and conventual

table, ij greate awndyrons, a fyerfork, ij good cobbords more at the ende of the parlor with locks and almeryes.

SECOND PARLOUR.¹ The hangyng of the sayde parlor of red and yelow saye, a trussyngbed² of waynscot, a sparver³ and cortens to the same of Dornex,⁴ a cobbard of waynscot with almeryes and locks, and j long square chest, a short table with a close fote of waynscot, and an olde cheyer coveryd with lether, a small payre of awndyrons, and a long settle of waynscot, a fetherbed, and cushen of verder.

THE BOTRE WITHIN THE PARLOR. An olde cobbard with iiij dores, ij chafyng dyshes of latyn good, xij candlestiks of latyn good and bad, a flat salt of pewter, ix kylderkyns.

MY LADY PRIORE'S⁵ CHAMBER. The hole hangyng of the sayde chamber, grene saye, a trussyng bed of waynscot with testar, sylar, and cortens of red and yelow sarcenet, a fetherbed, a bolster, v pyllowys of downe and fethers, ij coverietts, a good and coorse, a payre of fustyans, xij payre of flexen shets, whereof ij payre of iij bredes, and xiiij payre of corse shetys, ij greate payntyed clothys, iij olde cushyns, a long cushen of yelow satyn and bryges, a cobbard of waynscot with ij almeryes and locks, iij greate chests of waynscot, j greate cofer bownde with yron, xij playne borde clothes goode and bad, v playne towells, ij dosen playne napkyns, iij olde cobbard clothes broken, a basen and an ewer of sylver,

churches. (MS. Harl. 6954, fo. 9.) Abbot Wallingford, 1230-34, gave a clock to St. Alban's. A clock of Glastenbury, of the fourteenth century, is now in Wells Cathedral. The Horloge du Palais, at Paris, was erected in 1370. A portable clock is mentioned in the Wardrobe Accompts, 8 Edw. III.

¹ There was a Forensic or outer, and an Intrinsic or inner parlour,—the former used for interviews with guests or persons coming on business, the latter for conversation.

² Trussing-bed; a truckle-bed slid under one of larger size. At Oxford the scholars used them, when they occupied the same chamber as fellows: here they may have been used by the novices. Trussing-coffers are mentioned in the reign of Henry VI.

³ Sparver, a richly-embroidered cloth, a word not earlier than the time of Hen. VIII. Lord Monteagle had a spervor of the Salutation of our Lady, a spervor of crimson and green velvet, embroidered with letters of gold, the curtains of sarcenet. R. Fermor, of London, had a sperver of blue bukram.

⁴ Dornex, stuff made at Doornick, or Tournay, in Flanders.
Alicia Crane.

the basen parcell gylt, a pottell, pot of sylver parcell gylt, a standyng cup chalyswyse with a cover gilt and the cover enamelyd in the top, and ij standyng cupps with ij covers of sylver of one fasshyoun, another lesse standyng maser with a cover the fote gylt, ij small gobletts with a cover parcell gylt, and ij flat peces a more and a loss of sylver, ij standyng salts with one cover parcell gylt, a gylt Nut with fote bryme and rybbes of sylver and gylt, xiiij spones of Chryst and the xij apostells¹ whereof j gylt and the rest sylver with mages gylt, ij dosen sylver spones, ij greate and ij lesse masors with brymmys and rosys in the botome, save j lacketh a roose, iiij payre of corall beds, contaynyng in all lviiij past² gawdy[ed].

THE CHAMBER WITHIN MY LADY'S CHAMBER, CALLED THE STYL-LYNG CHAMBER.³ The hangyng there, iiij peces of payntyed clothes, an olde square sparver of blew bokeram, a fetherbed, a bolster, an old image coverlett, a square cofer of waynscott, and therein vj dyaper table clothes sum corse sum fyne, vj long towells of dyaper, and a cobbard clothe of dyaper, xviiij napkyns good and bad of dyaper, a low chayer of waynscot, and a cobbard of waynscot, with j dore and a locke, a long square chest of oke.

THE CHAMBER WITHIN THE STYLLYNG CHAMBER. The hangyng of old red saye broken, a fetherbed and coverlett⁴ olde of grene wollen, a sparvar of dornax new, ix greate plators with brode brymmys, and vj with narow brymmys, vj dysshys with brode brymmys, v sawsers of the same of pewter, ij greate old cofers of oke and nothyng in them.

THE MAYDEN'S CHAMBER. ij fetherbeds, ij bolsters, ij olde coverletts, a greate carvyd chest with olde evydences, a shypchest, and a cushen of verders broken.

THE GREATE BATHE. ij basens, ij ewers of pewter, a potell

¹ Spoons. John, Duke of Northumberland (T. Mar.), had an incomplete set, viz. 6 spones, whereof with postils 8 oz. In Queen Isabella's Inventory, temp. Edw. III., was j calix cum patina argenti deaurati et aymellata de Apostolis.

² A past or serclett occurs in Inventories of St. Margaret's, Westminster. (See my History, pp. 60, 76.) This circlet was "embrodered" or set with "pearl and stone." Gaudied, *i. e.* with large beads or gaudes in the chaplet.

³ Like the modern still-room, as fitted up with frames.

pot of pewter, an olde pewter salt, iij olde chests, iij olde hoggeshedds, j lether pot, a wodde tankard, a greate buttre knyfe, a lytyll bell.

THE NETHER KECHYN. vj brasse potts, iij greate and meane, and ij small, ij possnetts with long handells of brasse, a greate brasse chafer, a hangyng ketell of brasse, ij greate pannes, ij meane pannys, a lesser pan, j good drypping pan, j broken with a colender of latyn,¹ iiij greate spyttts, ij byrd spyttts, a brasse mortar with an iron pestell, xix hogges in the rofe, xij cople lyng, liiij cople of haberden,² besydes salmon, elys, and heryng, not a barell, and ij cades of red heryng,³ ij tryvetts, ij payre of pothokes, iij greate pothangers fastyned to a beame with polys of wod, and iij cobyrons greate and smalle for spyttts to go in, a greate grydyron of crepars of iron,⁴ and a payre of tonges.

THE UPPER KECHYN. ij greate potts standyng in lede to boyle befe in, xix platters, iiij dysshys, viij poryngers, and vj sawsors, a latyn ladyll, a greate stone mortar, and a small mortar, ij olde cobbards of oke, and a frying pan, a long tryvet of iron to sethe fyshe on, a good boket to the well, and a short chayne of yron.

THE CHAMBER OVER THE GATE HOWSE,⁵ CALLED THE CONFESSOR'S CHAMBER. A hangyng of rede clothe, a payntyd square sparver of lynyn, with iij corteys of lynyn clothe, a good fetherbed, a good bolster, a pece of blanketts, and a good counter peynt⁶ of small verder, in the lowe bed a fetherbed, a bolster, a pece of blanketts olde, and an image covered, a

¹ Latten, a mixed metal used still for clock-faces, combining softness, so as to be easily wrought, and hardness, so as to endure. Basins, wire rings, and cups were made of it.

² Fish of the table. (Sion Accounts, 27 Hen. VIII.)

³ "4 cades of red herrings, at 2 shillings, at 6*d.* the cade." (Accounts of Boxley Abbey, 1377.)

⁴ A little pair of creepers of iron. (D. of Northumberland's Inventory, 1 Mar.)

⁵ A view of the embattled gate-house standing on the north-west of the tower, even then converted into a dwelling-house, is given in the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' and Grose's *Antiq.*, vol. ii. I have included it also in my drawing of the present Remains, engraved to accompany this paper. It is hopeless now to conjecture the origin of the name "Confessor's Chamber," but it was no doubt occupied as a guest-house, as at Thornton, Kirkham, and Worksop.

⁶ Counterpoynt, a counterpane.

greate joynyd chayer of waynscot, an olde forme, and a cressar of iron for the chymneye.

THE CHAMBER NEXT TO THAT. A fetherbed, a bolster, and an image coverlett.

THE STEWARD'S CHAMBER. v peces of payntyd hangyngs, a square sparvar of payntyd clothe, with iij olde corteyns of blewe bokeram, a good fetherbed, a bolster, a payre of blanketts, a longe coverlett of damaske worke lynyn and wolfe, on the low bed a fetherbed, a bolster, a square carvyd chest of oke, an old cobbard with a clothe thereto, lynyn and wollen.

THE NEXT CHAMBER TO THE SAME. A sparvar of dornex, all broken.

THE CHAMBER UNDER THE SAME. A fetherbed, a bolster, a payre of blanketts, and a pyllowe, a testor of peyntyd clothe, ij peces of hangyng of payntyd clothe.

THE PORTAR'S LODGE. A fetherbed, a bolstar, a payre of blanketts, an olde coverlett broken.

STORE HOUSE by the CHESE HOWSE. By gesse x cloths.

CHESE HOWSE. By gesse viii^c pavyngtyle.

THE VYCAR'S CHAMBER. A fetherbed, a bolster, a pylow, a coveryng of corse imagery.

THE CHAMBER NEXT THE SAME. A matras, a bolster, a corse coverlet.

THE CHAMBER AT PRESTON HAWLE. iij fetherbeds, iij bolstars, iij blanketts, iij corse coverletts broken, an olde cobbard, a small table.

THE LADE CHAMBER. iij floke beds, iij bolsters, ij corse coveryng, in the Rotten rew,¹ a fetherbed, a bolster, and a broken coveryng.

THE BAKEHOWSE. A horse myll with one payer of stones, and

¹ There was a Ratton-rowe at Norwich, belonging to the parish church of St. Ethelbert, over the Minster-Gate in 1302. (Mon. Anglic., 2nd edit. p. 408; Blomefield's Norfolk, vol. iii. p. 67.) Adjoining the Cathedral of Glasgow was a Ratten Row, in which the inferior members lived (Mac Ure's Glasgow), and there were streets of similar name at Aberdeen, Montrose, Arbroath, and Peterhead; in Hyde Park one of the rides on ground which belonged to Westminster Abbey is so called; and near the Dom of Ratisbon is a Ratten Gasse ('Peter's Letters to his Kinsfolk,' vol. iii. p. 167-8). A Rotten Row in London was within the possessions of St. Martin's-le-Grand. It was clearly an ecclesiastical designation. Was it connected with the proverb 'Poor as a church rat'?

other apparell to the same, a greate sestem of leade to water malt, a greate hoggetroffe, ij olde hoggheshedds.

THE BREWE HOWSE. ij new coopers for the brewyng of vi or viij quarters malt, a colyng fat of leade, the one syde and the one syde of the howse, a masshyng tunne with a greate pece of lede on the syde, iiij greate tunnys, j keler,¹ and iij other small tubbys, a new ostecloth² and iij halfe hundred weyghte of leade with a beame of iron.

THE BULTYNG HOWSE. A large mowldyng borde, iij knedyng trowghys, ij bowltyng whyches,³ iij meale tubbys, a busshell bownde with iron, and onother busshell.

THE MYLKE HOWSE. A panne set in stone work, and ij other greate pannys, a greate panne with cases of iron, and a littell tryvett, ij charns, and ij chese presses, a borde for a presse, and shylves rownde abowte a hogghshed, and iiij olde halfe tubbys, viij chesemoots,⁴ and xij bowles greate and small, and mylke sevyys.⁵

[GRAY]NE IN THE [GAR]NERS. In the whete loft by the Gate ij quarters and ij b²⁶ whete, xvj quarters of dryed malt, and xx quarters of white malt, xvij quarters of barley, redy threshyd for sede, ij quarters of otes redy thresshyd, whete in the tasse⁷ unthresshyd, by estimatyon v quarters, barleygh to threshe, by estymacyon iij quarters, tares for horsemeate, l acres of whete redy sowne with halfe a quarter on every acre in sede tyme sowne, vj acres of beanes sowne, iiij acres of pease sowne, iiij acres of tares sowne, vij acres of otys, xxxvj acres of falowe for barlee, l acres of falow, and more for whete falow the next yere, viii^{xx} lode of heye at the largest.

CATELL BELONGYNG TO THE SAME HOWSE. v Contre oxen, and iiij western oxen, fatt, whereof iiij contre oxen sold for viijl. xs., and thereof ls. payed, the rest to pay, the sayde oxen not yet delyvered, xvij leane contre oxen workers, xij leane contre sterys of ij or iij yere age, xxvij yeryngs, xxxviii kene and

¹ Keler, a cooler.

² Oast is a familiar word in Kent and Sussex. Hops were known in 1 Hen. VI.: "broudathra vi togarum fact. de panno blodio superoperat. cum ramis de hoppes pro 6 henxman regis."

³ Boultying-wyches, *i. e.* sifting-chests.

⁴ Moots, *i. q.* fatts.

⁵ Sieves.

⁶ Bushels.

⁷ Tasse, a mow of corn, *tassis*. (Prompt. Parv. vol. iii. p. 487).

heifors, whereof x kene sold for xiijs. iiij*d*. a pece, and not delyveryd; whether the monye be payde or not hyt ys unknowen, xxvj cattle of thys yere, an horse, j olde baye, a dunne, a whyte and an ambelyng¹ grey, vj geldings, and horse for the plowe and harowe, with v mares, xliij hogges of dyvers sortts.

WETHERS, EWES, TWELVEMONTHYNGS, AND LAMBYS OF THIS YERE.

In wethers and lammys, cccc^{xxx} at v score to the C.

In beryng ewes, vij*c* at v score to the C.

In twelvemonthyngs, ewes, and wethers, vi*c*xxxv at v score to the C.

In lambys at this present daye, v*c*lx.

PLOWES, WAYNES, AND OTHER STUF OF HUSBANDRYE. iiij Plowes with cutters and sharys, ij carts, j pece of shoyd whelys, the other onshoyd, j wayne with bare whelys, vij tyghtys of ironn, ij carts with bare whelys, a carte body withowte whelys or sydes, iiij wooden harrowyes, and j iron harrowe.

THE BELFREE. j bell standyng there on the grownde belongyng to the Priorye.

Names of the servants now in wages.

Mr. Oglestone, takyng wages by the yere.

Mr. White, takyng xxvis. viij*d*. by yere, and lyvere.

John Coks, butler, lyvere, xxvis. viij*d*., whereof to pay j quarter and lyvere.

Alyn Sowthe, bayly, taking by yere for closure and hys servant, £vj. xiiid. iiij*s*., and ij liveryes.

Jhon Mustarde, by yere xxs., a kowes pasture, and a lyvere.

William Rowet, carpentar, by yere xls., and lyvere.

Richard Gyllys, by yere xxvjs. viiid., and liverye.

The carter, by yere xxxiij*s*. iiij*d*., and no lyvere.

Thomas Thresssher, by yere xxxiij*s*. iiij*d*., and no liverye.

Robert Dawton, by yere xxxiij*s*. iiij*d*., and no lyvere.

The kowherd for kepyng of the kene and hoggys, by yere xxx*s*., and no lyvere.

Jhon Hartnar, by yere xxviij*s*., and no lyvere.

Robard Welshe, brewer, by yere xx., and no lyvere.

A Thatcher, by yere xxxiiij, iiij, a hose cloth, and no lyvere.

Willyam Nycolls, by yere xxs., and no liverye.

¹ The trotters or trotting-horses of Edw. III. were called Lyerd, Ursewick and Grisell.

Jhon Andrew, by yere *xxijs. iiij*d.**, and no lyverye.

Jhon Putsawe, by yere *xij*s.* iiij*d.**, and a shyrt redy made.

George Myllar, by yere *xx*s.* viij*d.**, and no lyverye.

Robert Rychard, horsekeper, by yere *xx*s.**, and no liverye.

Jhon Harryes, Frencheman, by yere *xij*s.* iiij*, a shyrt, and no lyverye.

Jhon Gyles, the shepherd, by yere, *xiiij*s.**, a payre of hoses, a payre of shoys, and no lyverye.

Richard Gladwyn for to make malte, *xxv*s.* viij*d.** by yere; he hath ben here *vij*j.** wekes, and no lyverye.

Dorothe Sowthe, the baylyffe wyfe, owing for a yere's wages at *x*s.** by yere, and no liverye.

Ales Barkar, by yere *xiiis. iiij*d.**, and lyvere.

Ales Sykkers, by yere *xij*s.* iiij*d.**, and lyverye.

Gladwyn's wyfe, by yere *xiiis. iiij*d.**, and lyverye.

Ellyn, at my ladye's fynding [vacat].

Emme Cawket, by yere, *xiis.*, and lyvere.

Rose Salmon, by yere *xiis.*; she hath been here a month.

Marget Lambard, by yere *xij*s.* iiij*d.**, and lyvere.

Sir Jhon Lorymer, Curat of the Paryshe Church, by yere *iii*£.* xv*s.* viij*d.**, and no lyvere.

Sir Jhon Ingram, chaplen, by yere *ii*£.* iij*s.* iiij*d.**, and no lyverye.

Jhon Gayton, shepard, by yere *liij*s.* iiij*d.**, and no lyverye.

Jhon Pelland, by yere *xx*s.**, and no lyverye.

Jhon Marchant, by yere *xiiij*s.* iiij*d.**, and pasture for *xl* shepe, and no lyverye.

Jhon Helman, by yere *xv*s.**, and *x* shepes pasture, and no lyverye.

Jhon Cannyng, shepard, by yere *xx*s.**, and no lyverye.

Sir Thomas Fellow, Chaplen, by yere *£iij. iij*s.* iiij*d.**, and no lyverye.

Sir Jhon Lorymer, paryshe priest, sayeth that upon Ascensyon day last past, there was sett upon the Hygh Alter of the sayde Monasterye *vij* chaleses, whereof *ys* lackyng *iiij* at the day of takyng of the Inventorye; also he sayeth that upon Relyke Sanday¹ there were worren *vij* copes, whereof one of blewe velvet borderyd with sterrys of gold, whyche is lackyng, and not mencyoned before. Item, he sayeth that the

¹ The third Sunday after Midsummer Day. (Parker's Works, p. 7.)

same day was borne the hede of Mary Magdalen, sylver and gylt, whiche ys lackyng, and not herto before mencioned. Item, there ys fownde, syus the day of Inventorye, a playncee (*sic*) peece of sylver with a cover, the top thereof gylt, and a dosen of sylver spones wyth myters, the myters beyng gylt.



SEAL OF THE PRIORY OF MINSTER, IN SHEPEY, FROM A CHARTER
OF THE DEAN AND CHAPTER OF CANTERBURY.

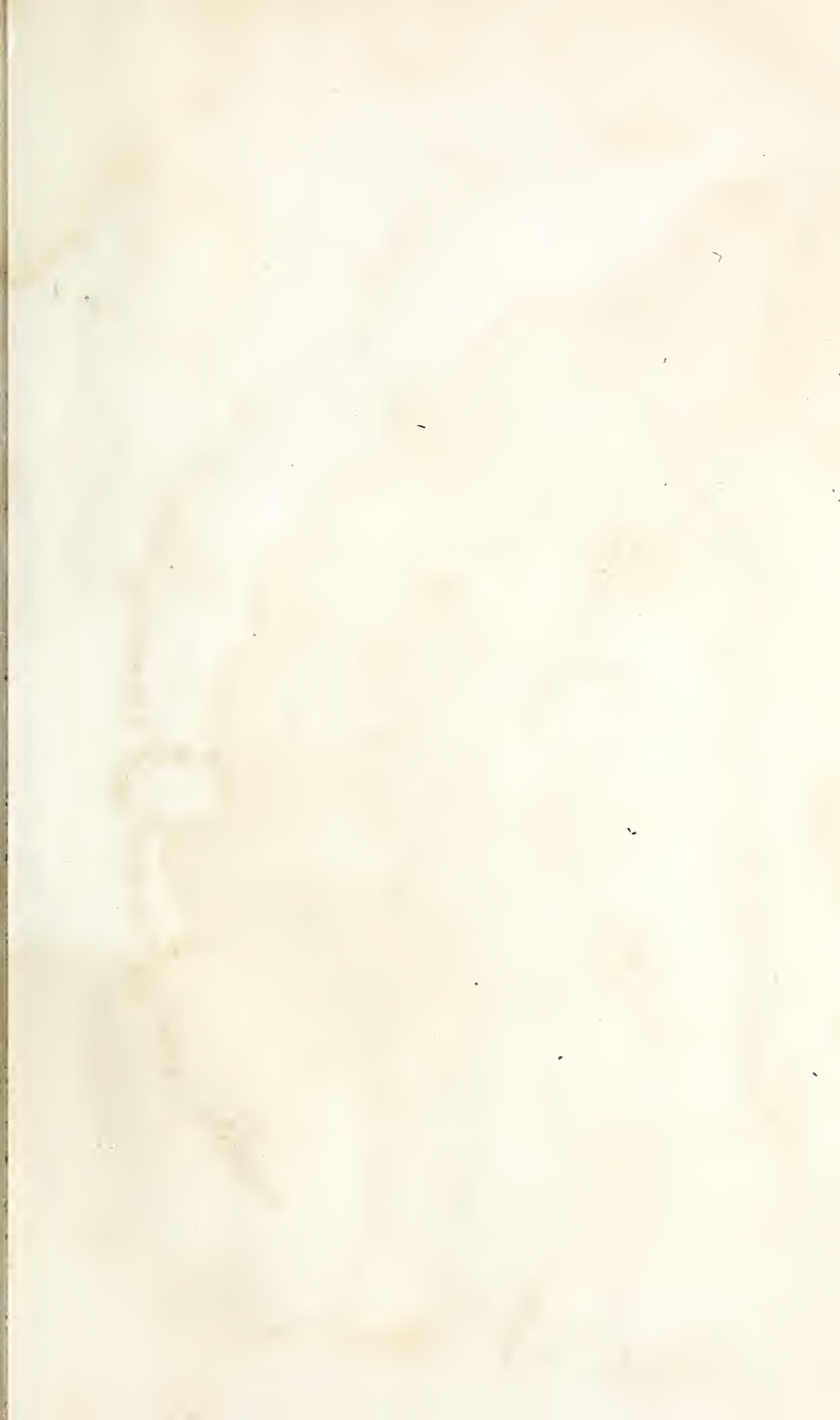




Herbert L. Smith del.

F. Nethercliff lith.

BEADS FROM SARR, N° 1
(The Numbers refer to the Graves.)





ACCOUNT OF THE SOCIETY'S RESEARCHES IN
THE ANGLO-SAXON CEMETERY AT SARR.

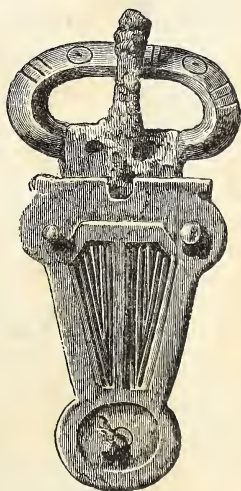
BY JOHN BRENT, JUN., F.S.A.

(*Concluded from Vol. VI. p. 185.*)

[Recommended, August 22; finally concluded, November 4, 1864.]

No. CLXXXV.—An ornamented bronze buckle, two inches and a half in length; a smaller bronze buckle, and a knife. An umbo lay edgewise by the left shoulder, and under it a spear-head.

No. CLXXXVI.—A small oblique grave, disturbed, and with the bones much displaced. An iron buckle, and a small substance resembling resin.



No. CLXXXVII.—
A woman's grave. At the feet were small cylindrical bronze fragments, portions apparently of hinges,—some with wood adhering; a small spring, and some bronze tags. Fragments of keys, by the left side, as usual; a small knife, broken; and a curious furciform object in bronze, about two inches and a half long,—probably a holder, which had been

suspended from the girdle, fragments of keys being attached to its lower end.

No. CLXXXVIII. — Grave of a woman and child. Teeth of an adult, and milk molar teeth. A single small amethystine bead first appeared, then three or four other beads, some very small; and small fragments of iron.

No. CLXXXIX. — An umbo on the left side, lying edgewise. A sword, a knife, and a spear-head.



No. CXC. — A sword by the left side, thirty inches long in the blade. A fractured umbo near the foot; a delicately-shaped spear-head, two knives, an ornamented bronze buckle, and an iron bolt-head.

Nos. CXCI.—CXCIV. — produced few relics. Some bronze platings and two broken knives. Nos. CXCVI. and CXCVI., had been disturbed, and the bones much displaced. The latter had contained two persons.

No. CXCVIII. — (near the turnpike-gate on the Ramsgate road.) At the foot of the grave was a small hole containing human bones. Also about forty counters of bone or ivory, like those of grave No. VI., fifteen of which had two holes, penetrating some half inch, cleanly cut into their flat bottoms, doubtless a distin-



guishing mark; and with them were two dice, much decayed, one however bearing the mark of *cinq*, the other that of *six*, exactly as in modern dice, distinctly visible.

In this grave were also two gilt stud-heads or rivets, still quite bright; a bronze buckle, and one of iron, and

two small spear-heads. The grave measured seven feet by four. The lower end had been disturbed.

No. CXCIX.—A woman's grave. A broken knife and a key.

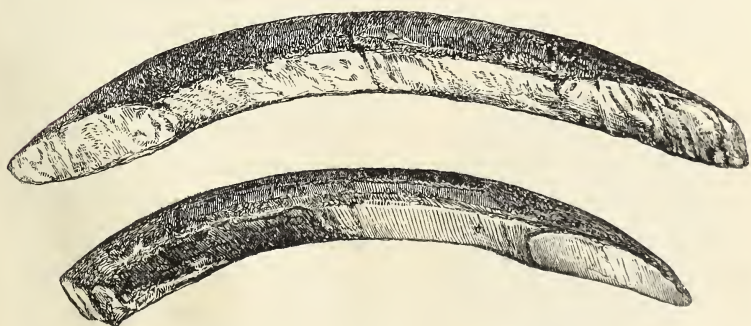
No. CC.—A deep, wide grave. One spear-head on one side of the skull, and two on the other; small pieces of bronze, a few broad-headed nails; iron staples at the feet. There was also a deep-cut hole, and a femur-bone protruded from the wall of the grave at its foot, evidently unconnected with the skeleton of the grave. Perhaps an older interment was disturbed in making this grave.

No. CCL.—Nothing. The bones displaced.

No. CCII.—At the left foot a vessel of red clay, with a wavy pattern, the narrow neck of which was broken. A small substance resembling resin, perhaps some unguent placed in the grave. The teeth those of a child or a very young person.

No. CCIII.—Grave of a woman. Portion of a key, and a fragment of bronze.

No. CCIV.—Grave of a woman. Two curved pieces



of ivory or morse-tooth, sliced down at each end,—one about six inches long. I can form no idea of their use. Near the neck were some beads, as well as a bolt for a lock.

No. CCV.—A child's grave. A small knife-blade, two inches and three-quarters long, lay by the left shoulder.

No. CCVI.—Two iron keys, indicating a woman's grave; also other fragments of iron, one of the shape figured at Grave CCXXXVIII.

No. CCVII.—Near the shoulder, a broken umbo; a spear-head and its ferule by the right ear; a knife, nine inches long in the blade; a black earthen vessel, narrow-necked, by the left foot. A fragment of mussel-shell.

No. CCVIII.—Clench-bolts in a row down the side. Iron shield-braces or bands, with clamps, and an iron buckle. Also, a small bronze buckle. There were oyster-shells in this grave, some with the valves in position, and therefore unopened when deposited, perhaps with a vague idea of supplying food to the deceased.

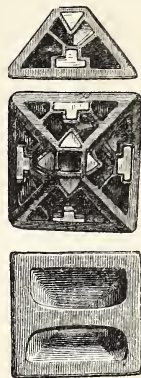
No. CCIX.—A spear-head; a portion of an iron ring; a knife and a small iron buckle. At the foot, a narrow-necked earthen vessel.

No. CCX.—A small grave, a girl's, the teeth being young. A collection of beads by the neck, one bugle-shaped, of white glass gilt, (Plate VII.) and, I believe, unique. A wire ring, a rusted mass of keys, a bronze rivet, and a bronze pin. Under the neck, a fine circular fibula. The centre is a boss of ivory, from which radiate three sliced garnets. The boss contains a garnet, and is surrounded by three rims of silver, rising each higher than the other, the innermost being the highest. The teeth of another child were also found in this grave.

No. CCXI.—A very perfect sword, thirty-five inches from hilt to point, lay from the centre high up by the skull, inclining to the right. It had borne a metal



sheath. Below it were a spear-head and a pike. A black earthen vessel, with broken lip, lay on its side near the centre. A bronze buckle, a pin of bone or ivory; and a beautiful ornament, perhaps a sword-knot, pyramidal in shape, but squared at the top, which is formed by a garnet set in a thin edging of bronze. The four sides of the pyramid are ornamented with ivory and coloured glass, set in gilt foil, and the base hollowed to receive a small bronze bar, through which a little strap or thong probably passed for suspension. Near the feet a knife and an umbo.



No. CCXII.—A small pair of scissors, near the head, on which were the remains of a wooden sheath. Part of a key. No doubt a woman's grave.

No. CCXIII.—A knife near the shoulder; a spear-head, and the fragment of a buckle.

No. CCXIV.—A bronze buckle; a broken knife. Evidences of wood down each side of the grave.

No. CCXV.—A very deep grave. Traces of wood as in the last; near the hip two glass vessels, much broken: one has since been restored,—it is elegant and very slight, but of common type. (See 'Inventorium Sepulchrale,' plate xviii. fig. 3; and 'Pagan Saxondom,' plate xxv. fig. 1.)

Nos. CCXVI.—CCXIX.—yielded no relics except a bronze buckle and two knives; they were probably women's graves. No. CCXVII. was nine feet long by four wide, and five and a half deep. It reminded me of No. IV., and when it yielded only a small rusty knife I was sufficiently disappointed. One point in it, however, was worthy of note, that the body had evidently been placed upon a bier or in a coffin, two planks apparently set edgewise, about twelve inches high and one thick,

being traceable down the whole length of the grave, and a piece of wood four inches square lying at the head and at the feet. No. CCXVIII. was equally large.

No. CCXX. — This was an interesting interment. Commencing at the feet, our usual practice, and working upwards, we found two urn-shaped glass vessels, close together. A thin circular stud of silver next appeared, some iron keys (one quite perfect, a very rare occurrence), a large bronze ring, and a flat bronze stud-head. On the breast, about thirty beads of porcelain, glass, and amethystine quartz; also an iron fragment, apparently a mounting for a purse, a broken knife, and an iron bolt.

Nos. CCXXI.–CCXXIV.—Only two broken knives. No. CCXXIII. was a child's grave by the teeth; the tender bones, as we often found in children's graves, had decayed without a trace.

No. CCXXV.—An amethystine bead, a broken knife, and the sliding bolt of a small lock. The bottom of the grave was lined with decayed vegetable fibre.



No. CCXXVI.—A broken knife, and what appeared to be nothing but a very common little stud. It proved to be two small silver sceattæ thus closely corroded together.



No. CCXXVIII. — Remarkable as containing fragments of pottery apparently Roman, and at one end a thick layer of mortar or cement; also mussel and oyster shells, and a few scattered bones.

No. CCXXIX.—A knife, and a few beads.

No. CCXXX. — A red earthen vessel of elegant shape; two spear-heads, some shield-studs, an umbo, and a broken knife.

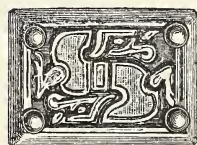
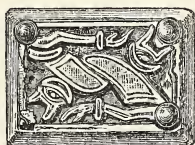
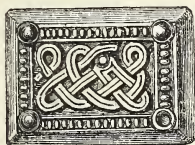
No. CCXXXI.—At the feet, a red earthen vessel, with narrow neck. The nozzle having been broken

previously to the interment, two holes for suspension had been made evidently to receive a thong or string. Here were also a spear-head, and down each side of the grave eight clench-bolts, about nine inches apart.

No. CCXXXII.—An elegant bronze buckle, a little more than two inches and a half long, ornamented below the tongue with ivory and a circular garnet, and lower still with a cruciform design, the arms being filled in with pale-green enamel and ivory, and the groundwork once inlaid with dark-green stones or glass, but now imperfect. Near the lower end is a sunken line, in which remain three little bronze studs.



No. CCXXXIII.—Two spear-heads, an umbo, and an iron rivet or clamp lay in the upper soil; lower down



appeared three rectangular bronze ornaments, each one inch by three-quarters of an inch, and once attached probably to leather or wood by studs at the corners. One bears an ornament of interlaced chainwork, another two rudely designed dragons intertwining, the third a dragon of another design, perhaps with a head at each end. All are unique in this country. In this grave were also a small iron wedge or cold chisel, two inches and a quarter long, a knife, a bronze stud, and a metal ornament,



much corroded, with thin edgings of gold. Traces of a bier or coffin were also found.

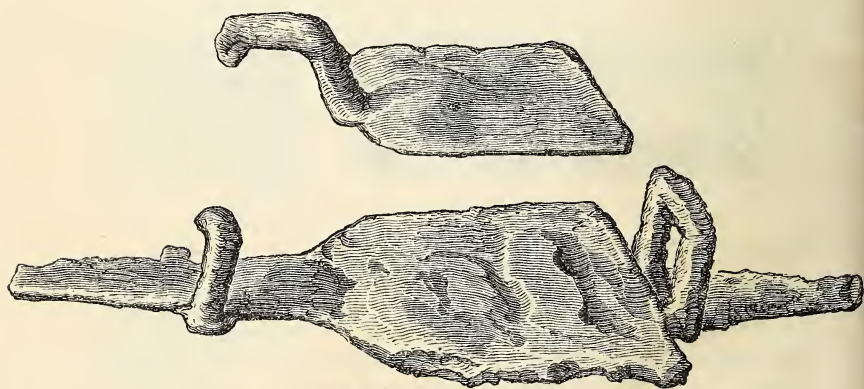
No. CCXXXIV.—A deep and irregular grave. No relics.

No. CCXXXV.—Two large iron clamps or rivets; a broken knife and traces of burnt wood.

No. CCXXXVI.—A woman's or girl's grave. Three knives and four beads of common types.

No. CCXXXVII.—A fine spear-head, vertically placed in the upper soil; a long knife, a broken umbo, some shield studs, and an iron buckle.

No. CCXXXVIII.—A spear-head vertically placed, as in the last grave, in the upper soil; an arrangement evidently designed, but for what object is not apparent. Three beads, a small bronze buckle, iron rivets, and a peculiar object in iron, about six inches and a half long;



the remains of keys or spears, much corroded, a foreign shell, the *Cyprea Arabica*, some broken mussel-shells, and a very small fragment of deep violet glass.

All these small objects appear to have been placed in a box, and exhibited more or less the action of fire. This grave yielded also pieces of iron, like links of a cable-patterned chain, and some bronze rings. Its incongruous contents might indicate a double interment,



XII



CCXXX



XXXV



LXX



CCXXXI



CVIII

1 Foot





CIII



CCVII



CCII



XX



CCXI

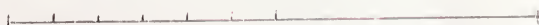


CCIX

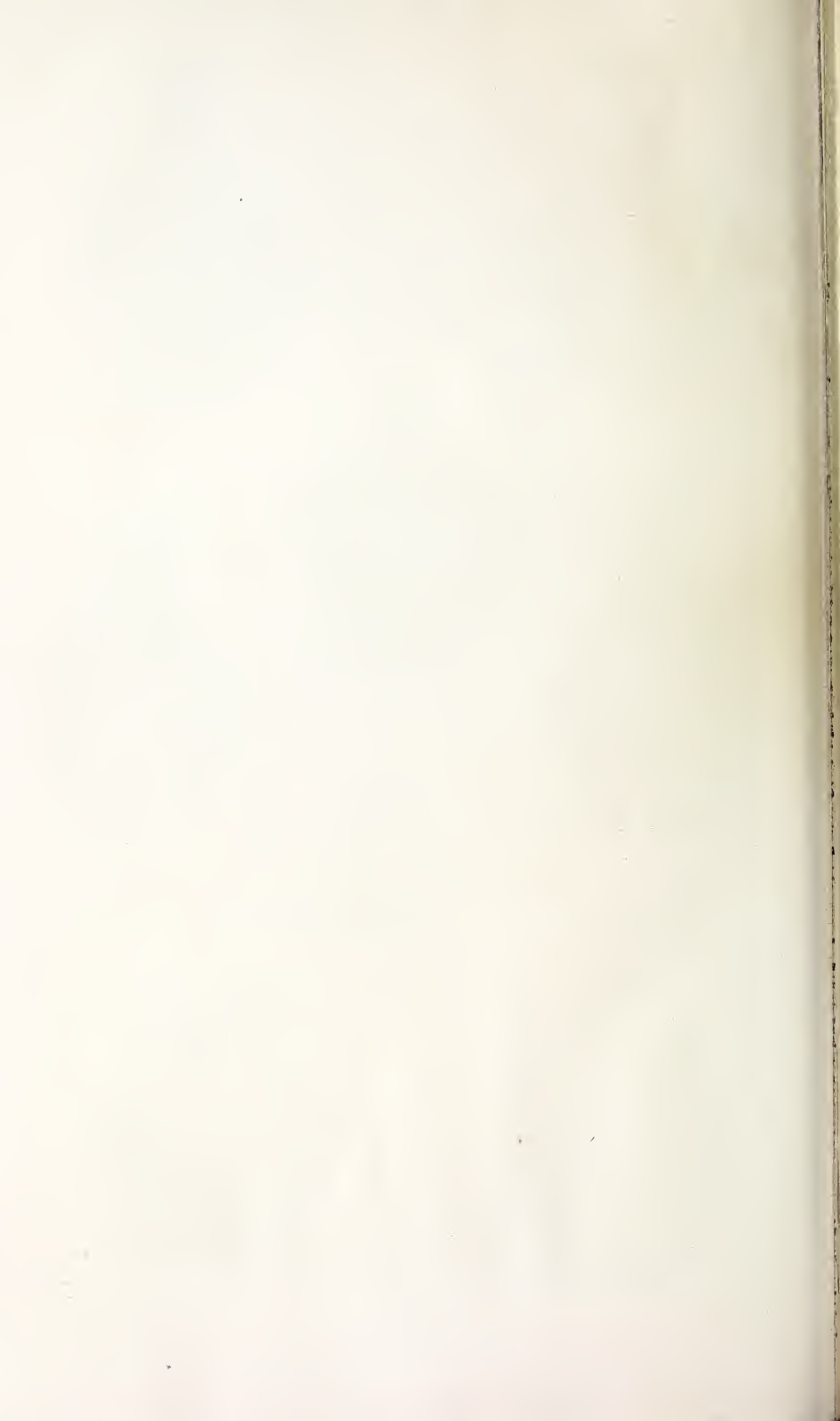


CLVII

1 Foot.



SARR.



the beads and shell being the relics of a woman, the spear-head of a man.

No. CCXXXIX.—A very long grave, but very ill-shaped. A small bronze buckle, a rude iron buckle, and some fragments of wood stained with iron.

No. CCXL.—Burnt or decayed wood in some quantity. By the left shoulder, a spear-head of unusual shape, and its socket, both vertically placed, as in Nos. CCXXXVII. and CCXXXVIII. Also a large knife, and a black earthen vessel at the foot, too fragile to be preserved.

Nos. CCXLI.—CCXLIII.—Only an iron ring, a small bronze buckle, and a knife.

No. CCXLIV.—Disturbed. Shield-studs, and fragments of bronze and iron. At the foot, a flat piece of iron with two flattened circular knobs upon it; a spear-head lay in the cist at the head of the grave.

No. CCXLV.—A small knife; at the feet, clench-bolts.

Nos. CCXLVI., CCXLVII.—Children's graves. No relics.

No. CCXLVIII.—A woman's grave. A knife, a ring of copper wire round the bones of the left arm, and close beside it an iron key.

No. CCXLIX.—Disturbed. No relics.

No. CCL.—A red earthen vessel, lying on its side in a recess at the feet. Three shield-studs and a broken umbo; a sword, in a wooden or leathern sheath, imperfect; two spear-heads, one broken (an old fracture), and a knife.

No. CCLI.—Disturbed. No relics.

No. CCLII.—A knife only. There were traces of wood down the side.

No. CCLIII.—An irregular grave, with the head twelve inches higher than the feet. The skeleton was large. A knife with long and slender blade, a spear-head, also lightly made; some mussel-shells, pieces of unbaked pottery, and the teeth of sheep and oxen.

No. CCLIV.—An oblique grave. A fragment of iron only.

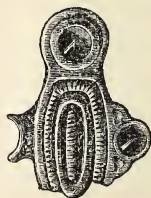
No. CCLV.—No fewer than eighty iron clench-bolts, which had perforated solid wood about three inches thick. They lay on both sides, and could not, I think, have been attached to shields, as supposed by some antiquaries. A shoulder-blade and an arm-bone lay above the skull. This grave was made on an incline of twelve inches at least, and was only separated from another grave by a narrow ridge of the chalk.

No. CCLVI.—A small and contracted grave, but containing a sword by the left side, its usual position,—a fine example, with a bronze pommel, and the blade of the usual length of about thirty inches, but nearly two inches and a half wide. A spear-head and its socket, and, at the feet, a small bronze ring or fibula.

Nos. CCLVII.—CCLVIII.—Small graves, probably of children. No relics.

No. CCLIX.—At the feet, a bronze stud or button, and some iron nails. Towards the knee a small iron pot, about three inches in length, and containing some remains of melted bronze,—perhaps the crucible of an artisan; or possibly a bell (Plate XI.). Near it lay a hone or knife-stone, exactly resembling some in modern use, and made of the same Turkish stone. Also a clench-bolt, an iron staple, and three broken knives.

No. CCLX.—Two interments, a woman and a child. A minute ring of silver-wire between the knees of the child, and a small circular fibula beside it; nearer



the head, a still smaller fibula. A bronze ornament,

broken, and very imperfect, but with the upper portion containing two garnets. Twenty-six beads, four being black bugles, and most of the others amber, lay near the neck of the larger skeleton. A bronze ring and a fragment of green glass, probably Roman, were at the feet. The fibula first discovered is of bronze-gilt, an inch in diameter, and of saucer-shape, an unusual type in Kent, with scrolled ornament, a sharp raised outer edge, and a garnet in the centre. The smaller fibula, little more than half its size, has also a garnet in the centre, and is ornamented with two raised beadings.

Nos. CCLXI., CCLXII. — Women's graves. Fragments of knives and keys, and two blue glass beads.

No. CCLXIII.—A small and slender spear-head.

No. CCLXIV.—A sword, thirty-four inches from hilt to point. A spear-head and a broken umbo; at the feet, the bronze ring or rim of a wooden stoup.

No. CCLXV.—At the feet, a small knife; in the centre, a very large key, a hook, and a corroded bunch of smaller keys.

No. CCLXVI.—A child's grave. No relics.

No. CCLXVII.—Grave of a woman and child. No relics.

No. CCLXVIII.—A long, deep grave. Four beads only; undoubtedly a woman's grave.

No. CCLXIX., CCLXX.—No relics.

No. CCLXXI.—Near the surface human bones, a horse's jaw-bone and teeth, and an iron snaffle-bit. A skeleton lay below, entire, with only a broken knife.

No. CCLXXII.—A small grave. No relics. This grave concluded our researches.

THE cemetery at Sarr is, with the exception of that opened at Kingston Down by Bryan Faussett, between 1767 and 1772, which contained 308 graves, the most

extensive of the Jutish or Old English burial grounds hitherto found in Kent. Including the two graves close to the windmill, found by Mr. Matson in 1860, 274 have been discovered; but this must be very far from the total number of its interments. The site of the chalk pit, described at its side towards Minster, formed part of the cemetery, and evidences and traditions exist of similar relics found there in digging the chalk. Others also have been found in an opposite direction, down to the Margate Road, and even to another chalk pit beyond it.

The 272 graves opened by the Society yielded an unusual number of swords, of the long, straight-bladed, double-edged type, namely twenty-six, averaging almost one to every ten graves. In no other Anglo-Saxon cemetery has anything approaching to this proportion been found. Sixteen only were found in the 803 graves of the "*Inventorium Sepulchrale*." In 188 graves at Long Wittenham, Mr. Akerman found but two¹; at Filkins,² in fifteen graves, but one; in about sixty at Brixhampton,³ only four; in rather more at Harnham,⁴ not one. 188 graves at Little Wilbraham yielded to Mr. Neville but four swords. At Wingham and Stodmarsh, where no accurate account was taken of the number of graves, none seem to have been found. At Stowting, last autumn, in twenty-six graves I found none, though four or five had, I believe, been found in former excavations. At Kemble, North Wilts, in twenty-six graves opened by Mr. John Mansell, there were also none.⁵

At Sarr the interments of men, women, and children were intermixed; and as one-fourth of these graves at least produced weapons of offence or defence, namely, swords, spears, and umbones of shields, we may estimate the adult male population at the same proportion.

Archæologia, vol. xxxviii. p. 315, and vol. xxxix. p. 135.

² *Id.* vol. xxxvii. p. 140.

³ *Id.* vol. xxxviii. p. 84.

⁴ *Id.* vol. xxxv. p. 259.

⁵ '*Horæ Ferales*.'

Thus at least one-third of the adult males buried at Sarr were sword-bearing warriors ; and this fact must, I think, lead to a reconsideration of the various opinions that Saxon thegns, or the "viri electi," or the borsholders or tything-men were alone armed with this weapon. The "Capitularies" of Charlemagne seem to indicate that amongst the Frankish nations cavalry only then bore the sword.¹ This probably applied to those Continental tribes who were armed with the francesca, or axe, as well as the spear, a weapon certainly not in general use at the period of these interments, though introduced at a later period amongst the Anglo-Saxons, if we are to consider the Bayeux Tapestry as reliable historical authority.

One axe only was found at Sarr, and that probably not a battle-axe.

An angon, one of the weapons of the Franks, a long, barbed iron spear, with iron shank, forty-five inches in length, was found in a Sarr grave (Plate XIV.). It is almost a solitary example from any ancient English interment. Mr. Akerman has given an interesting account of this weapon ('Archæologia,' vol. xxxvi. p. 78), and Mr. Wylie also (Id. vol. xxxv. p. 48).

Amongst the glass vessels are the beautiful example from grave IV., with slender arched ornaments terminating in drops round its base, and the two "pillared" glass vessels from graves LX. and CLXVIII., almost the only specimens preserved entire in England. I have no doubt that these glasses were manufactured as sepulchral relics. Their "tear-drop" ornament, as it is sometimes called, is curiously illustrated by a similar

¹ The footmen of the Celtic tribes were armed with swords. M. Froyon, on the authority of Mr. Akerman, discovered iron swords in Switzerland, with the remains of the Celtic period. Amongst the Teutonic tribes, swords of iron might be confined to the aristocratic orders, and yet be considered too valuable or too useful to be buried with other relics in the grave. Spear-heads, knives, and keys could probably be hammered out by any village smith ; but not so the sword.

but smaller design in pottery, upon a Roman earthen vessel, lately found near the Folkestone Road at Dover, and now in the Museum there.

The pottery from Sarr was not remarkable, if we except the two beer-jug-shaped vessels, with lips and handles, from graves CLVII. and CLXVIII., and the very elegant black earthen vase from grave LXX.

The proportion of clasp ornaments, or fibulæ, was small. The circular fibula found by Mr. Matson, the fine cruciform fibula from grave CLIX., and the archaic ornament from the narrow grave CXXVI. are, with the gold-plated buckle from grave LXVIII., perhaps all that deserve special mention.

The bone counters or draughtsmen, from graves VI. and CXCVIII., and the two dice which accompanied those from the latter, are notable as illustrating that wonderful passion for gaming which Tacitus mentions as prevalent amongst the Teutonic tribes.¹

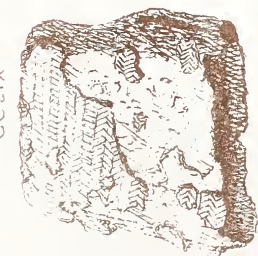
The state of the human bones exhibited much variety. In some instances the skeleton was preserved entire, down to the smallest bones of the toes and fingers. In others scarcely a trace was apparent, beyond, perhaps, a few teeth, a fragment of the jaw-bone, or parts of the femora. On the whole, perhaps, the bones of old persons were best preserved; the tender bones of children rarely remained. I never found a child's skull; yet the crania of adults had been generally amongst the last bones to perish, although the part resting on the floor of the grave was almost always decayed.² Bodily health

¹ "Aleam, quod mirere, sobrii inter seria exercent tanta lucrandi pendive temeritate, ut, cum omnia defecerunt, extremo ac novissimo jactu de libertate et de corpore contendant."—*De Mor. Germ.* sect. xxiv.

² M. Delasse is of opinion that the azote in bones varies with their antiquity, assigning about thirty per cent. of this substance to bones buried a century since, twenty-two per cent. to those of the era of Julius Cæsar, and eighteen per cent. to very ancient bones. (See Lyell's 'Antiquity of Man.') Various causes, however, contribute to disturb this calculation, and small reliance can be placed upon it. The state of preservation

1 Foot

CCLIX



XXXIX. I.



Horwitz, Smith, del.

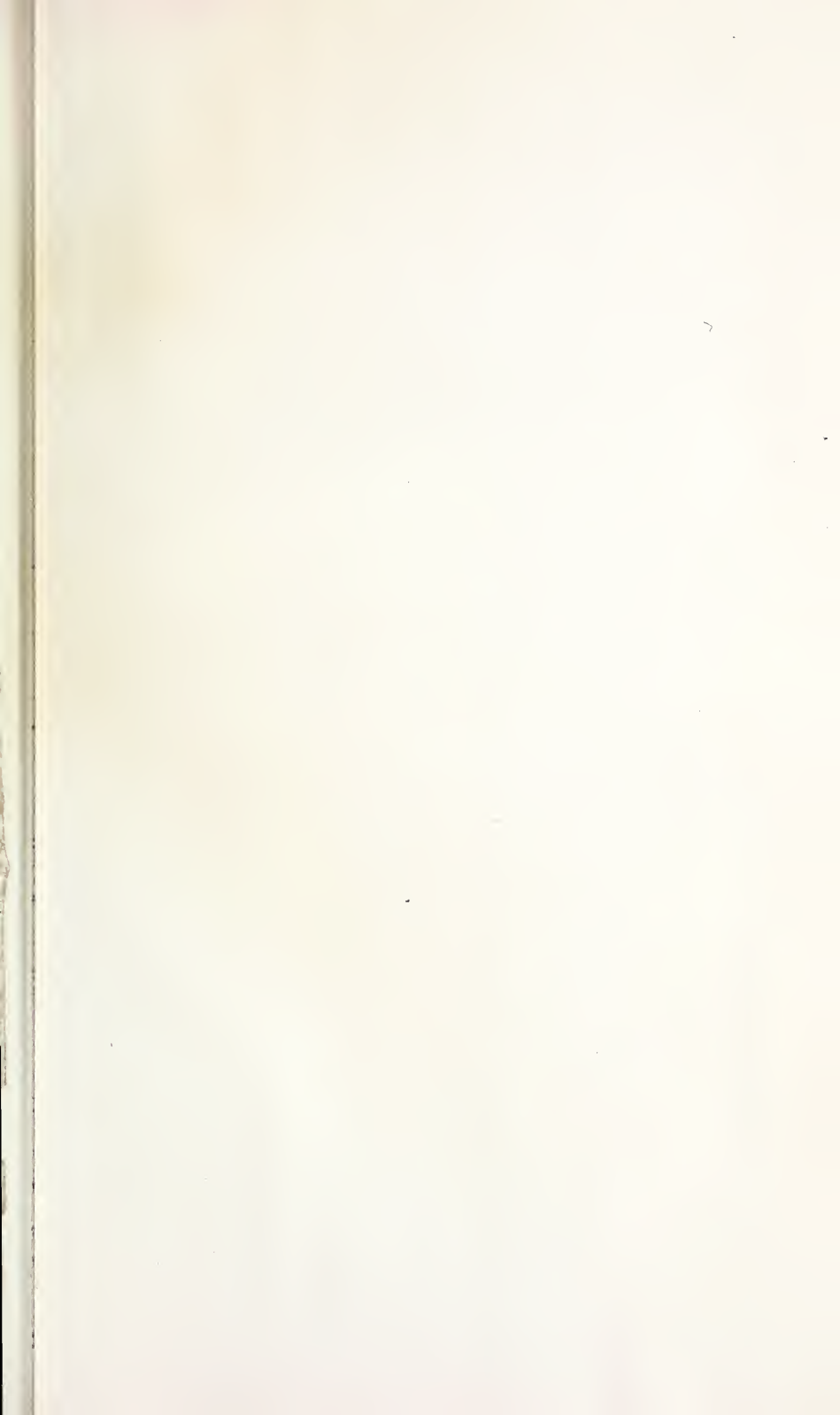




Herbert Smith del. et fecit.







XVI

III

XXXIX I.

CLXVI

CCLXIII

CXLII

CXC

CCXI

1 Foot

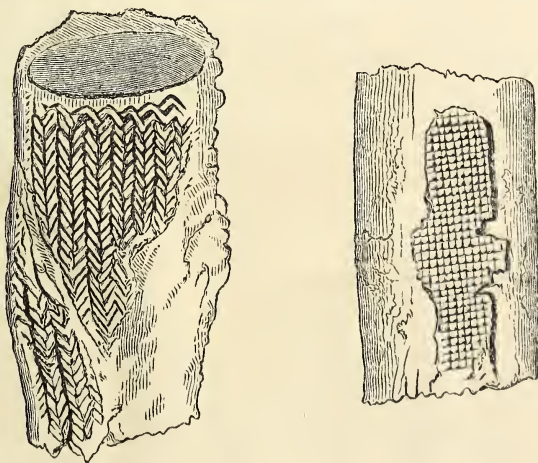
Herbert J. Prosser del: et fecit.



undoubtedly has considerable effect on the preservation of bones after burial. In graves apparently contemporary remarkable differences were found. The depth of soil, too, has an influence. In some deep graves at Sarr, scarcely a bone was preserved; in others, only a foot and a half or two feet in depth, the skeletons were often entire; the soil being the same in both instances. There was nothing remarkable in the size of the bones. The largest femur exhumed measured $20\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and as the hilts or handles of the swords were rarely more than five inches in length, it seems improbable that the men here buried exceeded ourselves in stature.

of the human jaw at Quignon, said to have been exhumed from the Tertiary of the valley of the Somme, and to have been contemporaneous with the flint implements of the drift, has been supposed by some osteologists to have justified the suspicion that it might have been taken from a graveyard in which the deposits scarcely exceeded a century.

[To the end of Mr. Brent's graphic account of his discoveries I append engravings of two specimens of Saxon cloth preserved by the rust of iron weapons, close to which they have lain in the graves, and to which they still adhere. For more, see Pl. XI. All ornaments, weapons, etc., being found on the bodies in the positions in which they would naturally be worn, it seems reasonable to suppose that a Pagan Saxon was buried in his ordinary dress, and not in any special grave-clothes.—T. G. F.]



MISCELLANEA.

 ADDITIONS AND EMENDATIONS TO VOL. VI.

ERRATA.

Page 89, note 2, 7 lines from bottom, *for* "Keytwell," *read* "Kentwell."

Page 302, line 2, *for* "VOL. IV." *read* "VOL. V."

NOTE TO NOTICE OF RICHARD WATTS. VOL. VI. PAGE 52.

A Correspondent assures us that there is a Will of an Alderman of Rochester in the Consistory Register there, dated 1572, which mentions "Richard Watts of Bullihill nere the City of Rochester where he had then dwelled about 20 years—& before at Little Peckham where he was borne—a free man born—& then about lix y^{es} of age."

NOTES TO THE EXTRACT FROM THE HUNDRED ROLLS.

VOL. VI. PAGE 186.

The first name in the list of Jurors, printed Tomford, should, doubtless, be read Toniford. The family of Toniford, at the time referred to, occupied the manor of the same name in Thanington, near Canterbury. The mansion-house is now reduced to a farm, but extensive remains of fifteenth century buildings still exist.

The term *curtena*, which occurs in the same document (p. 187, and note 3), may be supposed to designate the vehicle which, within the last fifty years, was known universally, in the parts of the county towards Sussex, by the name of 'coort,' a strong, low-sided cart, primarily intended for carrying manure: the term is now rapidly falling out of use, and will probably soon be lost. The distinction between a dung-coort and any other kind of cart used to be as fully recognized as that between a cart and a wagon. The original word may have

been 'coorten,' or 'coortn,' and the final letter may have been dropped, as, in rustic pronunciation, 'kiln' has become 'kill,' or 'kell.' I am doubtful whether I have ever heard a final *n* sounded.

R. C. HUSSEY.

THE REV. LAMBERT BLACKWELL LARKING.

(In Memoriam.)

Few persons have closed their earthly career who have been more highly respected and more deeply lamented by a large number of friends than the subject of the present memoir. The Rev. Lambert Blackwell Larking was the eldest son of John Larking, of Clare House in East Malling, by Dorothy, daughter of Sir Charles Style, Bart., of Wateringbury Place, in Kent. He was born at Clare House on the 2nd of February, 1797. His ancestors on both sides had been for many ages resident in Kent, of which county his father was a Deputy-Lieutenant, and served the office of High Sheriff in 1808.

Having spent a few years in a school of some repute at Parson's Green, under the tuition of Mr. Pearson, young Lambert Larking was sent to Eton College as an oppidan, and remained there until the year 1816, when he became a member of Brazenose College, Oxford. He obtained a second-class degree in *literis humanioribus* at Easter, 1820. At Eton and at Oxford his unselfish and generous character procured him many friends, whose affection never deserted him. At the latter place he founded the University Lodge of Freemasons, now one of the most flourishing lodges in the kingdom. On leaving Oxford he made the grand tour with a Mr. Lowther, when travelling was not quite so easy as it is at present. His reminiscences of this period of his life were a constant source of amusement to his friends, for his memory was unfailing, and his anecdotes were related with much raciness and enthusiasm. On his return to England he was ordained Deacon, and was licensed to the curacy of East Peckham, near Tunbridge, of which parish the Rev. George Moore was then Rector. It was here, probably, that he acquired the taste, which afterwards distinguished him, for searching into the memorials of the past.

Mr. Moore held the office of Registrar of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, and gave his curate permission to consult and copy the early wills under his custody. At East Peckham Mr. Larking devoted his leisure to the study of the history of his native county. Every nook and corner, every crumbling stone or stately monument, soon became familiarly known to him. In searching into the annals of the past, and in gathering up antiquarian and historical information, he was indefatigable, labouring only for the benefit of his friends and fellow-labourers in the same field.

On the 10th of December, 1823, he took his M.A. degree. On the 14th of April, 1830, he was admitted to the Vicarage of Ryarsh, in Kent, void by the death of the Rev. John Liptrott, to which he was presented by his friend and relative, Colonel the Honorable J. Wingfield Stratford. On the 28th of January, 1837, he succeeded to the Vicarage of Burham, in Kent, on the presentation of Charles Milner, Esq., of Preston Hall, in the same county. Soon after his institution to Ryarsh, Mr. Larking married Frances, eldest daughter of Sir William Jervis Twysden, Bart., of Roydon Hall, on the 20th of July, 1831. About this period the old Vicarage House at Ryarsh was taken down, and the present pretty residence, a model parsonage, was erected in its place, the cost of building which, however, tended very considerably to diminish Mr. Larking's income. After his removal to Ryarsh, the 'Surrenden Collection of Manuscripts' was placed in his hands by the liberality of Sir Edward Dering, the lineal descendant of the baronet by whom the Collection was formed in the middle of the seventeenth century. Such of the time as was not occupied by his parochial duties, Mr. Larking employed in the examination of these valuable papers, which had been collected from the Charter-chests of Christ Church and St. Augustine's, Canterbury, the muniment room of Cobham, the stores of Dover Castle, and the ancient title deeds of Sir Edward's own ancestral estates. Mr. Larking intended to publish a catalogue of the 'Surrenden Charters,' interspersed with copies and translations of the most ancient and valuable; but the great expenditure which such a publication would have entailed upon him alone prevented him from carrying his design into execution. Undismayed by work which many men would

have deemed laborious and irksome, Mr. Larking found time to copy and index all the early "*Pedes Finium*" relating to Kent now in the Public Record Office, as well as the early "*Inquisitiones post mortem*" in the same repository. All these documents were transcribed by himself in so neat and legible a hand that those who knew only his hastily scribbled letters would scarcely suppose that he could have so schooled himself as his transcripts prove he did. This most curious and valuable collection has passed, with all his other MSS. and books, into the hands of his brother, Mr. J. W. Larking. These pursuits naturally brought him into connection with the Rev. Thomas Streatfeild, of Westerham, who was engaged in writing a History of Kent. An intimate friendship sprang up between them. Mr. Larking's accumulated stores were freely communicated to Mr. Streatfeild, the value of whose collection was greatly enhanced by the contributions of his friend.

In the midst of these labours the Camden Society was formed, in the year 1838, for the purpose of publishing materials illustrating the civil, ecclesiastical, and literary history of this kingdom; and Mr. Larking, on his return from Malta, where he had been passing the winter of 1838-9, became an active supporter of the new Society. He was placed on the Council in 1852, and continued to be a member till the time of his death. His contributions to its publications consisted of (1) "the Report of Prior Philip de Thame to Elyan de Villanova, Grand Master of the Knights Hospitallers in England;" (2) "Proceedings, principally in the County of Kent, in connection with the Parliament called in 1640, and especially with the Committee of Religion appointed in that year, from the collections of Sir Edward Dering."

Having thus devoted his leisure hours to Archæological studies, he also became a contributor to the 'Collectanea Topographica.' Several articles, from the year 1837, can be traced to his truthful pen. Among them the following may be mentioned:—"Deeds relating to the Manor of Stilton in Huntingdonshire, and the families of Bell and Sankey;" "Early charters relating to land in Babraham in Cambridgeshire;" "Charters relating to the Manor of Hemington in the parish of Stilton;" "Exemplification of records and charters relating to the Manor of Pykeny and other Manors of the barony of

Pynkeny in the county of Northampton during the reigns of Edward II. and Edward III.;" "Charters relating to the family of De Alba Ripa and to the nunnery of Gokewell in Lincolnshire;" "Grant of Sprouton in Co. Suffolk by Robert de Blancheville to the Canons of Ipswich."

Though Mr. Larking was well known to a numerous circle of friends as a zealous collector of materials for the History of Kent, it was not until the year 1857 that he came conspicuously before the public as a promoter of the study of Kentish Archæology. At his instigation the Viscount and Viscountess Falmouth, to whom he was chaplain, invited a few friends to Mereworth Castle, for the purpose of laying the foundation of an Archæological Society for the county of Kent, on the formation of which the late Marquess Camden was unanimously chosen President, and Mr. Larking Honorary Secretary. On the 24th of November of the same year he had the gratification to announce that the Society so recently created already consisted of 367 members, of whom 24 were Life-compounders.

It is not intended, in a memoir necessarily so succinct as this is, to follow Mr. Larking through his exertions and labours in bringing the Kent Archæological Society to the high position it so deservedly occupies. The energy and perseverance manifested by him in furthering its fortunes are well known and acknowledged. Declining health compelled him to resign his office of Honorary Secretary, after he had filled it for five years to the honour of himself and the satisfaction of the Society.

The work, however, on which Mr. Larking's fame will eventually rest, and which I have no hesitation in saying will afford undeniable proof of his merit as an antiquary and a scholar, is yet unpublished. Dissatisfied with what had been done for illustrating our great national Doomsday, he determined to write a dissertation upon it, taking the county of Kent as the theme on which to hang his disquisitions. Long before the idea of photo-zincographing Doomsday was entertained, Mr. Larking employed Mr. Netherclift, the lithographer, to commence a fac-simile of it by tracing, while he himself was composing his contemplated Introduction.

Severe illness overtook him while engaged upon his work, and prevented him from making that progress which he so vehemently desired. In addition to this, the over-anxiety to

obtain an exactitude almost impossible, which had oppressed him from the very commencement of his literary life, now daily increased upon him. A desire to exhaust every source of information within his reach, a craving for perfection that can never be attained,—for certainty in things that must ever remain uncertain, retarded his labours. To have carried out his grand design would have demanded the devotion of his whole life, and a residence in the Metropolis. His shattered health, increasing age, and unlooked-for death intervened as insurmountable obstacles between him and the great object and aspiration of his literary life. This is to be deeply lamented, as the man can hardly be found, whatever his abilities and acquirements, who can give the finishing touches and completeness to a work which would have been achieved by the mind that originally conceived it.

In addition to the works already mentioned, Mr. Larking contributed many important papers to the ‘Archæologia Cantiana.’ Among them were, “The Inventory of Juliana de Leyborne, Countess of Huntingdon;” “On the Heart-shrine in Leyborne Church*,” A paper on the Surrenden charters; “*Probatio ætatis* of William de Septvans;” “Sir Roger Tywsden’s Journal;” Papers on the *Pedes Finium* for the County of Kent, with elaborate indexes; Paper on the Rev. Thomas Streatfeild; Paper on the *Inquisitiones post mortem* pertaining to Kent, with index thereto; Miscellanea; An elaborate paper on the Leyburne family; and a second, which follows this memoir. He was unwearied in his endeavours to bring before the world the literary labours of his friend Mr. Streatfeild, whose daughter-in-law, the present Mrs. Streatfeild, has generously bestowed on the county of Kent her late father-in-law’s collections.

It would not be just to Mr. Larking to close this brief memoir without some reference to those duties of a higher and more responsible kind, to the performance of which his life was devoted. Never was a parish priest more assiduous, or more unsparing of his energies, his time, and his means, in promoting

* Mr. Larking amused himself in the intervals of freedom from pain during his long illness by enlarging this work, and he had collected a large mass of interesting documents on the subject, amounting at least to threefold the original work.

the present and future welfare of his flock, than Mr. Larking. Early and late, at all times when required, he was at the bedside of the sick and the suffering,—counselling, warning, advising, comforting, as few but he could do. Never was any one more beloved in his parish. In him the poor have lost a benevolent and sympathizing pastor; their richer neighbours a steadfast, upright, and intelligent friend. For the children of his parish, always especial objects of his care, he built a school-house at Ryarsh, and provided a teacher at his own expense. The little vicarage of Burham enjoyed an equal share of his munificence,—the emoluments leaving him about £40 per annum, after he had erected a school-house there, and paid the teacher's salary.

Rich in the esteem of every one who knew him, Mr. Larking expired on the 2nd of August, 1868, and was buried in the churchyard of Ryarsh. Among all who knew him, he has left the memory of genial qualities rarely found. His sterling worth, his unimpeachable integrity, his nice sense of honour, his unfailing courtesy, his active benevolence, his unobtrusive kindness, will not be easily effaced from the memories of those who had the happiness of his friendship. It is scarcely possible that they will again find the same genial greeting, the same bright smile, the same hearty and affectionate manner, which were distinguishing characteristics of Mr. Larking, and diffused gladness around him like a ray of sunshine. If others have possessed more eminent gifts of genius, or talents better fitted to command the admiration of mankind, none have surpassed him in those winning and amiable qualities which attract at first sight, and often lead on to indissoluble friendships; and none knew better than he how to cement the friendship once gained by the exercise of every excellence befitting a man of high principle, unswerving probity, and unaffected piety.

T. D. H.

[I have prefixed the above Memoir, a tribute from one of Mr. Lambert Larking's oldest and most valued friends, to the last letter which he himself addressed to me on a subject which, as readers of these volumes well know, was of exceeding interest to him. It is melancholy to reflect that we have here the last work of his pen, and that our members will be delighted

with no more of those vivid and elaborate contributions which have adorned our first seven volumes. None of us will forget that his latest writing, and, as I know from our almost daily correspondence, some of his latest thoughts also, were for the Society which he founded and loved.—T. G. F.]

ON THE HEART-SHRINE IN LEYBOURNE CHURCH, AND
THE FAMILY OF DE LEYBOURNE.

(See Vol. V., p. 133.)

MY DEAR MR. FAUSSETT,—Since my last communication relative to the Heart-Shrine in Leybourne Church, and the biography of our great Kentish Baron, Sir ROGER DE LEYBOURNE, I have made further investigation at the Rolls, and other depositories of ancient Records, by which I have been enabled to confirm most of my conjectures, and to clear up such doubts as still remained in my former discussions. I hope, therefore, that you will be able to afford me sufficient space for a few *novissima verba*, such as, I believe, will leave no doubts or difficulties on these subjects unsolved.

I.—First, as to the Shrine itself.

It is evident from the three following documents that a Chantry formerly existed in LEYBOURNE CHURCH, and there can be little doubt that this structure was a shrine therein dedicated to the memory of its founders, viz. the great Sir Roger de Leybourne, and his son Sir William, and intended to contain their hearts, although one only has been actually deposited there. It is impossible to avouch with certainty, to which of these great men that one belonged. For myself, however, I have no hesitation in pronouncing it to be the heart of Sir Roger. Architectural indications point to this Tabernacle as the oldest of the two; and it stands on the dexter side of the Shrine, the place of precedence,—the other Tabernacle being probably prepared during the lifetime of his son Sir WILLIAM, on whose death, the heir being a mere infant, there was no one to be active in sending his heart to the depository prepared for it.

The first document which I shall notice, relative to this Chantry, is an entry on the “Coram Rege” Roll, 4 Ed. I.,

Trinity-Roll 2, being the pleadings in a suit between the heir of the former owner of the land out of which Sir ROGER DE LEYBOURNE had endowed the Chantry, and the then existing Rector of Leybourne and the Chaplain.

The following is a summary of this Record :—

1. ROGER RUFFYN complains that PETER, the Rector of LEYBURN, and JOHN the “Capellan” had seized his goods and chattels, to the value of 5 marks. That this Trespass was committed on 31st March, 4 Ed. I., A.D. 1276, and the Damages are laid at £5.

The Defence is, that RALPH RUFFYN, father of the Plaintiff, gave certain Tenements in LEYBURN to ROGER DE LEYBURN, who out of them gave an endowment to the Defendant and the Church of LEYBURN, for the maintenance of two “Capellans.” FEODINA, widow of the said RALPH, had her Dower in the said Tenements. When she died, the said Peter entered, as of right.

Therefore, they deny that they have illegally entered the dwelling of the Plaintiff, and seized his goods.

The Sheriff to summon a Jury.

The Jury come in Quindain of Easter, 5 Ed. I., A.D. 1277, and acquit the Defendants.

The Plaintiff is in “*misericordia*” for a false charge.

2. The next document which we have relating to the foundation of this Chantry, is a charter of Sir WILLIAM DE LEYBURNE, in which he confirms the endowment made by his father Sir ROGER, for the maintenance of this Chantry, and augments it by a charge of five marks per annum on his manor of RIDLEY, and by a grant of the entire tenement which RALPH RUFFYN had alienated to his father Sir ROGER.

This document is given in full by Thorpe, ‘*Registrum Roffense*,’ p. 474. It will be unnecessary, therefore, to reprint it here. It may, however, aid in the complete elucidation of the history of this Heart-Shrine, if I cite the following passage, rendered into English, from this Charter :—

“I have confirmed, in perpetual alms,—for the health of my Soul, and the Souls of my father and mother, my ancestors and successors, in honour of God, and the Blessed Mary, and of All Saints,—to PETER, Rector of the Church of the Apostles Peter and Paul of LEYBURNE, and his successors, for the maintenance of one ‘Capellan’ celebrating divine service there, for ever, all

the land which ROGER, my father, had of the gift of RALPH RUFFIN in LEYBURN and CAUMPES, with its appurtenances, the meadow called RUFFINESMEDE being reserved to me and my heirs.

“I have also given and granted to the aforesaid Church, for the maintenance of the said Capellan, five marks of annual rent, to be received from the manor of RADLEHE, by the hands of BARTHOLOMEW DE WATTON, and his heirs or assigns, who may be holding the said manor, yearly.”

Thorpe furnishes us with no date to this document, but it must have been made after 1271, in which year Sir WILLIAM's father, Sir ROGER, died; and also, after 1276, as no allusion is made to it in RUFFYN's suit, cited above (No. 1). In the document No. 3, which I shall next cite, PETER, the Rector of LEYBURN, is stated to be dead; and, as that document is dated A.D. 1279, we can fix the date of Sir WILLIAM's augmentation as *inter* 1276 and 1279.

The land at CAUMPES (*modo* COMP), 100 acres, the subject of this augmentation, still forms part of the Rectorial Glebe of LEYBOURNE.

3. The next document which I shall adduce is one which I have transcribed from the Registers at LAMBETH. It is an ordinance of Archbishop PECKHAM, whereby THOMAS BACUN is allowed to hold the Church of LEYBOURNE in plurality with that of LANGLEY, on the petition of Sir WILLIAM DE LEYBURN, for the better maintenance of the Chantry founded by his father, Sir ROGER DE LEYBOURNE, in Leybourne Church.

There is no actual date given to this ordinance, but the nearest preceding date in the Register is “ii kalendis Februarii, A.D. 1279.” We may, therefore, ascribe it to the year 1279. Although it will be unnecessary to transcribe it in full, it may be well to give a certain portion of it as forming an essential evidence of the foundation of this Chantry.

“Dudum vacante ecclesia de LANGELE, Cantuariensis dioceseos, post mortem PETRI ultimi Rectoris ejusdem, nobilis vir, WILLELMUS DE LEYBURN, verus ejusdem ecclesie Patronus, dilectum filium THOMAM BACUN, subdiaconum, nobis, ad eandem ecclesiam presentavit, petens, cum instancia, ut idem THOMAS ipsam ecclesiam de LANGELE, una cum ecclesia de LEYBURN, que est de Patronatu ejusdem Domini WILLELMI, Rosiensis dioceseos, tanquam eidem annexam, posset suo (*sic*) perpetuo

retinere ;—Cumque ; super hiis, ut moris est, facta esset Inquisicio diligens et solempnis, inventum est, quod olim bone memorie dominus ROGERUS DE LEYBURNE, pater Domini WILLELMI predicti, ordinavit Cantariam duorum Presbiterorum in ecclesia de LEYBURNE, qui celebrarent perpetuo, pro anima sua, et animabus antecessorum et sucessorum suorum, certis eidem terris et redditibus assignatis. Et cum, processu temporis, videret terras et redditus hujusmodi ad Cantariam predictam non sufficere, vacante ecclesia de LEYBURNE predicta, prefatus Dominus ROGERUS, a locorum Diocesanis optinuit, quod predictus PETRUS, tunc Rector ecclesie de LANGELE, ipsam ecclesiam de LEYBURNE, in augmentum porcionis Cantarie, quam ordinaverat, quasi annexam ecclesie de LANGELE retineret, et inde Cantariam predictam, una cum porcione assignata, suo (*sic*) perpetuo sustineret. Nos igitur, advertentes, etc. . . . petitionem dicti Domini WILLELMI, duximus annuendum, etc. etc. etc.” (See, among the Archiepiscopal Registers at Lambeth; Peckham, 48 a.)

The above three documents are conclusive as to the origin of our Heart-Shrines.

II.—Let us now pass on, therefore, to the next question, which we have hitherto left undecided, viz. Did Sir Roger de Leyburne actually start on the Crusade with his master and prince, EDWARD ?

At page 140 and page 162, note 12, ‘Archæologia Cantiana,’ Vol. V., it is evidenced that he was among those who obtained Letters of Protection as “crucesignati,” during their absence on the Crusade ; but, as stated in the same volume (p. 141, l. 28, and p. 157, l. 8), whatever our conjectures may have been, we were then unable to produce decisive evidence that he actually accompanied the Crusade in obedience to his vows. Since those observations were printed, I have had the satisfaction of discovering an entry on the Patent Roll, proving beyond the power of contradiction that he most assuredly did accompany the Prince on the Crusade, and apparently as one of his personal suite. It is a mandate from the King, tested at Clarendon 17th November, 1270, actually putting in force the Letters of Protection which had been granted to Sir ROGER during his absence on the Crusade. It is directed to the King’s son, Prince EDMUND, setting forth that—

“Cum dilectus et fidelis noster ROGERUS de Leyburn, tem-

pore quo transfretavit cum Edwardo primogenito nostro, versus Terram Sanctam, in pacificam seisinam manerii de STANYFORD extiterit, et nos ipsum, homines, terras, res, redditus, et omnes possessiones suas in protectionem et defensionem nostram suscepimus," etc.,—and that ROBERT DE FERRARIIS and others had intruded themselves into the said manor 'contra tenorem protectionis nostre predicte, et ad grave damnum predicti ROGERI, etc.' Therefore, the said Prince EDMUND is commanded to go in person to the said manor, and eject and attach the said intruders, to answer "coram nobis" for their said trespass. (Rot. Pat., 55 H. III., m. 25.)

Most assuredly, then, Sir ROGER did actually quit England with the Prince, on the expedition to the Holy Land, and had not returned in November, 1270.

He probably died while on the Crusade,—whether at Tunis, or after landing at Acre, we have, as yet, no knowledge. All we do know is, that he was dead before November, 1271, because that is the date of the homage of his son and heir, Sir WILLIAM. (See 'Archæologia Cantiana,' Vol. V. pp. 154 and 164, note 18.)

On the Charter Roll (Rot. Cart., 55 H. III., m. 1) there is an "Inspeximus" of a grant of the manors of ASHFORD and PAKMANSTON, made by ROGER DE ROLLING and MATILDA his wife, to Sir ROGER DE LEYBURN and ALIANORE his wife, dated 21st July, 1271. He was, therefore, still living in July of that year. He was also living in August, because the "Inspeximus" is dated 13th August, and cites the grant as "factam dilecto et fideli nostro ROGERO DE LEYBURN et ALYANORE DE VALLIBUS, Cometisse WINTONIE, uxori ejus." Had he been dead, the words "defuncto," or "jam defuncto," or "nuper defuncto," would have been added. Since the expedition landed at Acre during Easter, 1271 (Vol. V. pp. 141 and 164, note 17), and he was alive in August in the same year, I almost necessarily conclude that he died in the Holy Land itself, between August and the date of his son's homage in November. Of course I do not overlook the possibility, but great improbability, that he had deserted the Prince, and returned to England, after the capture of TUNIS. Knighton, after describing the Prince's indignation at the recreant allies, who then wished to return home, concludes with these words:—

"Quo audito, omnes Anglici (*The English, to a man*) qui

affuerunt cum eo velle proficisci promiserunt." (See Vol. V., note 16, p. 164.)

This almost precludes the possibility of Sir ROGER's desertion. The historian would, infallibly, have pointed him out by name, had he shewn such a recreant spirit.

III.—At pp. 156, 189, 190 'Archæologia Cantiana,' Vol. V., there is a statement that Sir ROGER DE LEYBURN, during the latter part of his life, resided at Leeds Castle, of which he became possessed by exchanging with ROBERT DE CREVECŒUR his manors of TROSLEY and FLEET for that of LEEDS, A.D. 1268. This is not strictly correct, because he was in possession of Leeds in 1265 by a grant from the Crown on the forfeiture thereof by the rebel Robert de Crevecœur. In all these transactions there is much that requires elucidation, which I will endeavour to give by enumerating all the charters relating to them.

1. Among the Chapter House Ancient Deeds is a charter of H. III., granting to ROGER DE LEYBURNE all the lands and tenements of ROBERT DE CREUQUOR "*inimici et rebellis nostri*," being an adherent of SIMON DE MONTFORT. It is dated at Westminster, 30 Nov^r, 50 H. III., *i.e.* 1265. (See 'Chapter House Ancient Deeds,' Box 171, Tray 2, No. 9.)

We know that LEEDS was among these lands, because in the Inquisition on the death of HAMO DE CREVECŒUR, 47 H. III., 1263 (see Vol. III. p. 253), the "*Manerium de LEDES*" is returned by the Jury as one of his manors pertaining to his Barony of Chatham, and his grandson ROBERT is stated to be his heir therein.

2. Among the Charter Rolls there are grants made of market and fair and numerous franchises to Sir ROGER DE LEYBURNE in his Manor of LA MOTE, dated 9 Nov^r, 51 H. III., *i.e.* A.D. 1266. (See Rot. Cart., 51 H. III., m. 11.)

Hasted and other writers state that LA MOTE and LEEDS were the same manor under different names. I therefore insert this grant here, without vouching for the correctness of the assertion, although, as far as my own investigations have yet reached, I have seen but one solitary instance by which this supposition can be maintained.

In the roll of accounts rendered into the Exchequer by Sir ROGER DE LEYBURNE, for his expenses in the countless expeditions undertaken by him in the service of the Crown, we have

an entry in March 1266-7, stating that he went "a domo sua de LA MOTE" to Tenterden; and, on 9 June 1267, there is an entry that he was "apud La Mote;" and here, in the margin, is written "LEDES," seeming to identify the two, though not necessarily so; for the manor of the "Mote" in Maidstone was close adjoining, and an error of the scribe might easily have arisen. According to these accounts, he had been at Rochester on the 8th June, and again there on 10th, 11th, and 12th June, going thence to the King, at Stratford, on the 13th, staying there two days, and returning thence "ad MOTAM" (no "Ledes" here in margin), where he stayed till 19th June, and then went to Winchelsea.

This entry of the word "LEDES" in the margin is the one solitary instance in which I have as yet seen any record identifying "Ledes" and "La Mote" as one and the same manor. In the above-cited Inquisition, on death of HAMO DE CREVECEUR, A.D. 1263, it is called "Manerium de LEDES." In the exchanges with ROBERT DE CREVECEUR it is "Manerium meum de LEDES;" and in every document that I have as yet inspected it is invariably (with the exception of the entry on the accounts above cited) "Manerium de LEDES," down to the alienation of it by Sir WILLIAM DE LEYBURN to the King, where it is then styled "de Castro et Manerio de LEDES."

Is it safe to conjecture that "La Mote" in Maidstone was his, as well as "Manerium de LEDES," and that he resided at the former while building a castle at "*Ledes*," on the completion of which he transferred his residence thither, and thenceforward it became "Castrum et Manerium de LEDES"?

Leaving open the question of identity, we next come to the exchange of the Manors of Trosley and Fleet for that of Leeds, in 1268, by which Sir ROGER DE LEYBURN is confirmed in his possession of the latter.

3. Apparently the grant of the Crown in 1265 had given him complete ownership, and we are, at first sight, surprised at the seeming contradiction of his being owner of LEEDS in 1265, and yet in 1268 giving his manors of TROSLEY and FLEET in exchange for it, as though his ownership only commenced in that year. I believe that the elucidation of this is to be found in the requirements of the "Dictum de Kenilworth."

I need hardly remind our readers that this "Dictum" cou-

tains the terms of accommodation between the King and the Barons, and that they were drawn up by an assembly of the Clergy and Laity held at Coventry, while the King was besieging KENILWORTH at the latter part of the year 1266. It takes its place among the "Statutes of the Realm," and is thus tested:—"Given and proclaimed in the Castle of KENILWORTH, the day before the Kalends of November, in the year of our Lord MCCLXVI., the LI. year of the reign of the Lord Henry, the noble King of England." Many of the defenders of KENILWORTH refused the terms, and joined their party in the Isle of Ely. But a large number accepted them.

The 12th section of this "Dictum" declares that, with the disinherited Barons, the King has ordained that there shall not be actual disinheritance, but redemption,—*quod non fiat exheredacio, sed redemptio*,—viz.,

"Quod solvent quantum valet terra eorum per quinque annos; et, si isti solvent redemptionem, rehabeant terras suas;—Ita quod, si terra vendi debeat, nullus eam emat, nisi ille qui eam tenet ex dono Domini Regis, si tantum velit dare quam quilibet communiter emens, et eisdem terminis;—Similiter, satisfaciens pro tota terra habeat totam,—pro medietate, medietatem habeat,—et pro tertia parte, statim tertiam partem habeat. Quod si, ultimo termino statuto, redimens non satisfecerit, medietas terre remanentis remaneat illis quibus terre collate sint per Dominum Regem;—liberum autem sit redimenti, infra illum terminum, vendere totum, vel partem terre, secundum formam vendicionis superius annotatum, et similiter ad firmam tradere." (See 'Statutes of the Realm,' vol. i. pp. 12 to 18.)

It appears, then, by this section, that the disinherited Baron ROBERT DE CREVECŒUR was entitled to redeem the Manor of LEEDS from Sir ROGER DE LEYBURN, the grantee of the Crown, by the payment of the value of its issues for five years; and, if a sale were necessary, Sir ROGER could claim the right of pre-emption, provided he were willing to give as much as any ordinary purchaser would give, and on the same terms.

We have here, then, a key to our difficulties in finding Sir ROGER DE LEYBURN the grantee of the Crown in the Manor of LEDES, and therefore rightful owner thereof in 1265, and yet apparently only acquiring it in 1268, by exchange of the Manors of TROSLEY and FLEET for it with ROBERT DE CREVE-

CŒUR; according to a charter of Sir ROGER, recorded in the Registry at Rochester, whereby he gives, grants, and confirms to ROBERT DE CREVECŒUR and ISOLDA his wife, his Manors of TROTTECLYVE and FLETE, in exchange for the said Robert's Manor of LEDES, with the mediety of all his fees. This charter is dated at London, 18th October, 52 H. III., *i.e.* A.D. 1268. (See '*Registrum Temporalium Ecclesie et Episcopatus Roffensis*,' in the Registry at Rochester, f. 31 a.) And on the Charter Rolls we have the King's Inspeximus and confirmation of it, tested at Westminster 22nd October, 1268. (See Rot. Cart., 52 H. III., No. 2.)

This exchange was evidently made in obedience to the above-cited requirements of the "*Dictum de Kenilworth*."

CREVECŒUR, it is clear, had claimed the privilege of redeeming his inheritance of Leeds, while Sir ROGER, on his part, asserted his right to the privilege of pre-emption; and he now satisfies CREVECŒUR's claim by giving him the manors of TROTTECLYVE and FLETE as equivalent to the money value of that claim, although, as we shall presently see, it afterwards turned out that they were not equivalent thereto, and that further payment became necessary on the part of Sir ROGER.

In many instances, when these requirements were carried into effect, the seeds of protracted litigation were abundantly sown, as seems to have been the case in the instance before us; for, in the Rochester Register above cited, at f. 31 a, we have a charter of ROBERT CREVECŒUR, dated 5th June, 1293, in which he states that disputes had formerly arisen between him and Sir ROGER DE LEYBURN concerning this exchange of manors (not, however, specifying the particulars of these disputes), that they had finally been settled by the arbitration of mutual friends, and that Sir ROGER had accordingly given him, in addition, a rent-charge of 100 marks on his Manor of Ridley. *Quia maneria predicta de TROTTECLYVE et de FLETE, non sufficiebant ad extentam manerii mei de LEDES.* Without this, the requirements of the *Dictum* would not have been fulfilled, and the whole transaction would have been utterly void and of none effect.

While speaking of "The Manor of TROTTECLYVE" in these transactions, it should be remembered that the estate in question, though bearing this title in the charters before us, was

not the "Chief Manor of TROTTESECLYVE," of which it could hardly have been predicated that *non sufficiebat ad extentam manerii de LEDES*. This Manor, as we learn from the Domesday Survey, was the property of the Bishop of Rochester, and has continued to be part of the possessions of that See, down to the present day. DE LEYBURNÉ'S "MANOR OF TROTTESECLYVE" (which, before him, had belonged to the family of DE CRESSY) was only part of the Chief Manor, separated from it, doubtless, formerly by subinfeudation. It seems to have been that portion which is now called "Wrotham-Water," and it was again reunited to the Chief Manor in 1278, as appears by a Charter in which ROBERT DE CREVECEUR (2nd June, 1278) quitclaims it to JOHN, Bishop of ROCHESTER, for 50 marks and a Palfrey, *ingersumam*, reciting therein that WALTER, Bishop of ROCHESTER, predecessor to Bishop JOHN, had recovered the said Manor against him,—*per judicium Curie Regie, per quandam defaultam versus me recuperavit*. (See the 'Register of the Temporalities of the Bishoprick of Rochester,' in the Registry there, f. 30 b.)

Only two years before this transaction, notwithstanding the amicable settlement between Sir ROGER DE LEYBURN and DE CREVECEUR, as cited by the latter, it seems that litigation was still rife, for Thorpe cites a writ of EDWARD I., dated 21st July, 1276, addressed to WILLIAM, son of ROGER DE LEYBURNÉ, in which the King enjoins, *quod sine dilacione rectum teneas Roberto de Creuker et Isolde uxori ejus, de uno mesuagio, centum et sexaginta et quatuor acris terre, etc. etc. etc. in Trottesclyve, Wroteham, et Adyngthone, et Ryershe, etc. etc.*, from which the Bishop of Rochester had deforced them, etc. etc. etc.

It is not impossible that these unceasing litigations had induced Sir WILLIAM DE LEYBURNÉ, with little reluctance, to alienate LEDES to the King, as we shall presently see that he did, about this identical period (in No. IV., *infra*),—and the King, on his part, in his desire to possess an important fortress, may have not hesitated to use a little *gentle pressure*, in the form of writs, etc., supporting DE CREVECEUR'S pertinacity in advancing claims; but I cannot venture to advance this supposition on any ground stronger than that of mere conjecture.

IV.—We should leave our history of the connection of the

family of DE LEYBURN with Leeds Castle incomplete if we here omitted to state that Sir WILLIAM DE LEYBURN, son and successor of Sir ROGER, alienated it to Edward I. and his Queen Eleanor, *inter* 1271 and 1290, as appears by three notes in the 'Ancient Kalendars and Inventories of the Exchequer,' edited by Sir Francis Palgrave. They will be found in that part of the work which contains *the Kalendar compiled about the year 1323, under the direction of Walter Stapleton, Bishop of Exeter, who then filled the office of Treasurer.*

1. "Ss. Carta WILLELMI filii ROGERI de LEYBURN facta EDUARDO, Regi Anglie, et ALIANORE consorti sue, et heredibus suis, de Castro et Manerio de LEDES, cum parco de ASSHELEGH." Sine data. (See p. 57, No. 174.)

2. "Ledes.—Carta Domini WILLELMI DE LEYBURN, militis, facta Domino EDUARDO, Regi Anglie, filio Regis HENRICI, et ALIANORE consorti sue, et heredibus suis. Castrum et Manerium de LEDES, cum pertinenciis, et cum advocacione, etc." Sine data. (See p. 58, No. 182.)

3. "Ss. Quiaetaciamacio Castri de LEDES et Manerii de LEDES, facta per WILLELMUM DE LEYBORN, militem, etc., Domino EDUARDO, Regi Anglie, filio Regis HENRICI, et Domine ALIANORE consorti sue, et heredibus et assignatis." Sine data. (See p. 59, No. 185.)

Although the above charters are recorded as being undated, yet, inasmuch as Sir WILLIAM DE LEYBURN did homage for his father's estates in 1271, and Queen ELEANOR died in 1290, we can assign to them, as a proximate date, some year between 1271 and 1290. The originals are no longer to be found among the Exchequer records; I can, therefore, only give the notes of them as furnished by Bishop Stapleton's 'Kalendar.'

V.—But before quitting the subject of LEDES Castle, it is well to mention that among the records of the Exchequer there is still extant a charter by which EDWARD II. grants to Queen ISABELLA (the "she-wolf of France"), *consorti nostre karissime*, the reversion of the Castle and Manor of LEDES, with its advowsons, etc., which MARGARET, Queen of England, *mater nostra karissima*, holds for life by the grant of EDWARD, formerly King of England, *patris nostri*, and which, at the death of the said MARGARET reverts to us and our heirs—

To be held by the said Queen *Isabella* for life, and after her death to revert to us and our heirs.

Tested at Ramsey, 11th April, 7 Ed. II., *i.e.* A.D. 1314. (See 'Ancient Deeds, Exchequer, Kent,' ^LI—1.)

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V.—And now let me offer a few closing words as to our great Baron being the son and heir of the first Sir Roger. The fact is, perhaps, sufficiently proved in Vol. V. p. 154, and Vol. VI. p. 303; but since those pages were printed I have found further evidence among the public records, which must set the question at rest for ever.

1. On the *Coram Rege* Roll, 34 H. III., *i.e.* A.D. 1250, there is this entry:—

"Kancia.—SIMON FILIUS ADE, per attornatum suum, optulit se, iij^{to} die, versus ROGERUM de LEYBURN, de placito quod esset ad hunc diem, ad capiendum Cyrographum suum de Fine facto in Curia Regis coram Justiciariis Itinerantibus apud Cantuariam, Inter ipsum SIMONEM, Querentem, et ROGERUM de LEYBURN, *patrem predicti Rogeri, cuius heres ipse est*, de hoc quod predictus ROGERUS, adquietaret ipsum de servicio quod JOHANNES de Curteney ab eo exigit, de libero tenemento suo quod de predicto ROGERO tenet in CERTECUMBE, et quod Cyrographum remansit capiendum propter mortem predicti ROGERI, patris sui," etc. etc. etc. (See *Coram Rege* Roll, 34 H. III., m. 9, Trinity. The office ticket is "Placita apud Westm. Trin., 34 H. III., A. 3, No. 6.")

Here, then, is incontestable evidence that my statements as cited above in vols. v. and vi. are correct, and we have this further information, that Sir ROGER DE LEYBURN the father died before Trinity Term, A.D. 1250.

2. Again, on the same Roll (m. 8 and m. 26 *dorso*), we have two more entries confirming the fact that the first Sir ROGER was then recently dead. They record a suit of the Prior of St. Mary, Southwark, against Sir ROGER DE LEYBURN, that he shall acquit the Bishop of Rochester of a demand made on the said Prior for the service due from a freehold in Camberwell, held of Sir ROGER, who is mesne lord between the Bishop and the Prior.

3. And among the *Pedes Finium* of Kent, 35 H. III., *i.e.* A.D. 1251, 13th October, we have the final settlement of this suit, in which Sir ROGER agrees to pay the Bishop 25*s.* for damages in so long delaying the payment of his relief,—*occa-*

sione quod ipsum prius non acquietaverat de predictis Secta et Relevio versus predictum Episcopum.

"Relief" being due, it must have arisen from the death of the last tenant, viz. his father. This fact, combined with the entries on the Plea Rolls, as above, prove that the father died early in 34 H. III., i.e. A.D. 1250.

Yours very sincerely,

L. B. L.

Ryarth Vicarage, 24th Jan., 1868.



IN THE course of the late extensive restorations at Canterbury Cathedral, a floor and ceiling were removed which from a very early date had divided the chapel of St. Andrew, (now nearly all that remains of the lofty Norman tower of that name,) into an upper and a lower chamber; the latter long used as a Vestry, the former as a repository for muniments. In the flooring were found several charters and other documents, which had obviously slipped through from the upper room,—the seal of one of which, a Charter of the Prioress of Minster, in Shepey, is engraved at p. 305;—and among them a mediæval pen of rather unusual shape, of which, by kind permission of the Dean and Chapter, I am enabled to give the accompanying woodcut. It is of bronze, and delicately formed, and of the size engraved. At about three-quarters of an inch from its point it swells to a greater thickness, from which it again tapers to the point, this part being indented with four grooves, to hold the ink and feed the point, very much as in some modern glass pens. It must have been well calculated for the laboriously minute and delicate writing of ancient charters and records, but would scarcely have accommodated itself to anything in the nature of a running hand.

T. G. F.

A LATE discovery enables us to add another to our list of known seals of the Cinque Ports,—such a matrix, in fine con-

dition, having been found, early in the winter of 1868, in the roadway which runs through the village of Goudhurst. It lay about three feet below the present surface, and at the level of what is described as clearly a former surface of the road. As will be seen in the engraving below, its legend, SIGILLUM · CUSTUM : DE · HETH · shows it to have been used in the business of the customs or dues of Hythe—we may assume of the Harbour; and it was therefore very probably the Portreeve's seal. It bears the demi-lion and demi-ship of the Cinque Ports, surmounted by a crown, and surrounded by little crosses, possibly intended for fleurs-de-lis. Its style and workmanship are probably of the latter part of the fourteenth century. The seal, with its handle, is of brass or bell-metal, roughly dressed with a file, and stands an inch and a half in height, tapering upwards to three rude rings, arranged in a cruciform shape at the top. The Society is indebted for most of these particulars, and for the impression from which the engraving has been taken, to the kindness of Mr. Hussey, of Scotney Castle.

The Cinque Ports of Kent have no other Seal of this kind extant; but in the first volume of the Sussex Archæological Society's Collections (p. 24) is figured a not dissimilar seal of Pevensey, apparently of the same century, the device of which consists of the two ostrich-feathers and ducal crown of Lancaster, surrounded by the legend s: THE · CUSTUM · SELLE · OF · THE · PORTE · OF · PEMSE.

T. G. F.



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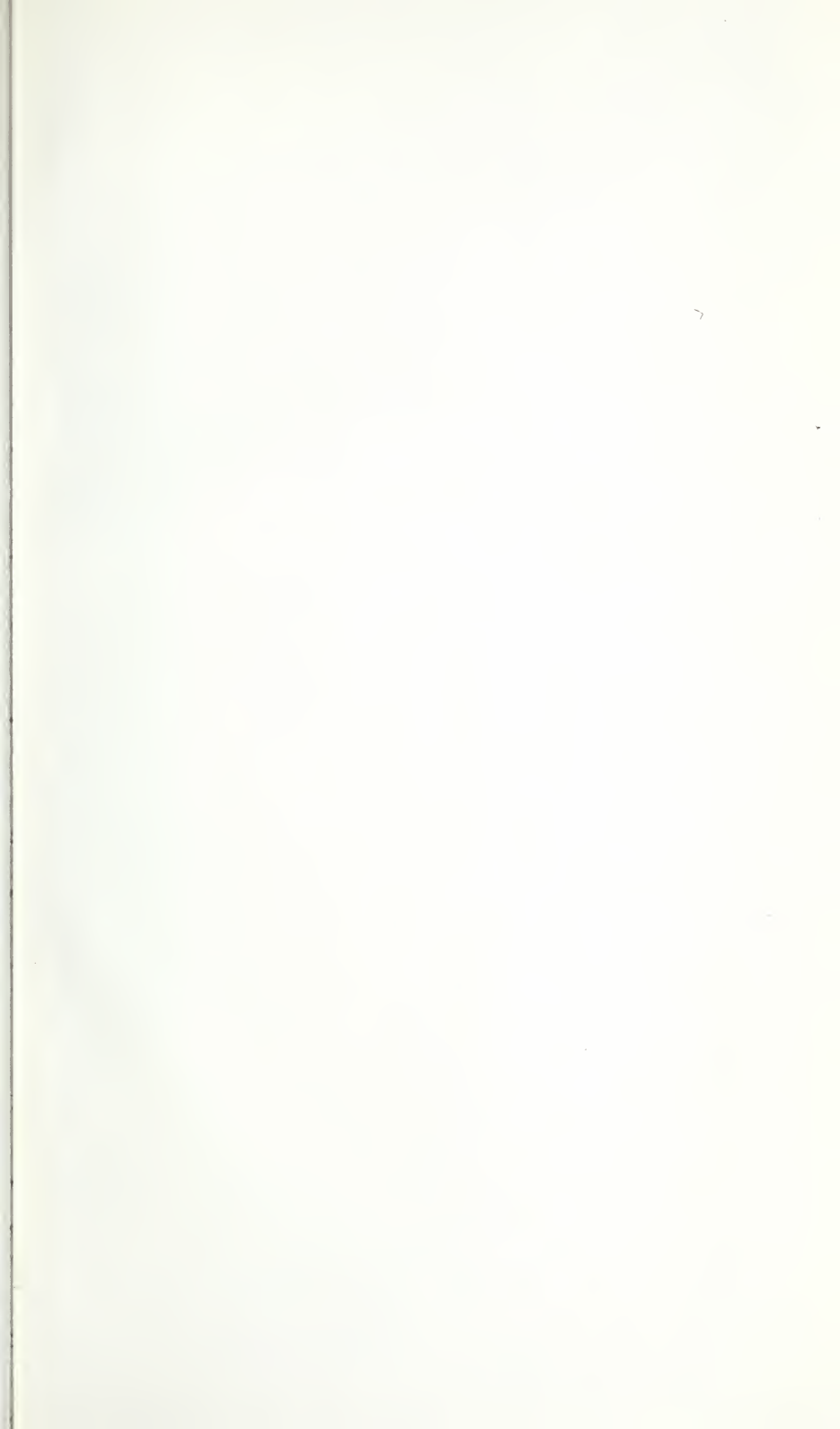
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